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THE

WORKS

DISCARDED

OF THE

REV. JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN,

ARRANGED BY THOMAS SHERIDAN, A.M.

WITH

Notes, Historical and Critical.

A NEW EDITION, IN NINETEEN VOLUMES;

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THE

THE

EXAMINER.

PREFACE TO THE EXAMINER.

ON the third of August 1710, appeared the first number of "The Examiner," the ablest vindication of the measures of the queen and her new ministry. "About a dozen of these papers," Dr. Swift tells us, "written with much spirit and sharpness, some by secretary St. John, since lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr. Atterbury, since bishop of Rochester; and others again by Mr. Prior, Dr. Freind, &c. were published with great applause. But these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it; which I did accordingly eight months. But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her majesty's death."

The original institutors are supposed to have employed Dr. King as the publisher, or ostensible author, before they prevailed on their great champion to undertake that task. Mr. Oldmixon thought that Mr. Prior had a principal hand in the early numbers; and it is well known that he wrote N°. 6, professedly against Dr. Garth. N°. 8, and N°. 9, were written either by Dr. Freind or Mr. St. John, or by both in conjunction. Dr. King was the author of N°. 11, and of N°. 12.

Who was the author of N°. 13, does not appear; but it is remarkable that, when the Examiners were first collected by Mr. Barber into a volume, N°. 13 was omitted; the original 14 being then marked 13; and so on to 45 inclusive, which is marked 44; and this misarrangement was of course continued by Dr. Hawkesworth and Mr. Sheridan; a circumstance the more worthy of notice, as the paper omitted is a curious defence of passive obedience, not inferior perhaps in point of sophistry to any in the whole collection.

After the thirteenth number, the undertaking was carried on wholly by Dr. Swift, who commenced a regular series of politicks with N°. 14, Nov. 2, 1710. "Get the Examiners," he says to Mrs. Johnson, "and read them. The last nine or ten are full of the reasons of the late change, and of the abuses of the last ministry; and the great men assure me they are all true. They are written by their encouragement and direction."—It appears however, by a subsequent letter, Feb. 9, that "Mr. Prior was like to be insulted in the street for being supposed to be author of it; but one of the last papers," Swift adds, "cleared him. Nobody knows who it is, but those few in the secret; I suppose, the ministry and the printer."

A contemporary writer, May 3, 1711, says, The Examiner is a paper which all men, who speak without prejudice, allow to be well written. Though his subject will admit of no great variety, he is continually placing it in so many different lights, and endeavouring to inculcate the same thing by so many beautiful changes of expression, that men who are concerned in no party

may

may read him with pleasure. His way of assuming the question in debate is extremely artful; and his Letter to Crassus is, I think, a masterpiece. As these papers are supposed to have been written by several hands, the criticks will tell you, that they discover a difference in their styles and beauties; and pretend to observe, that the first Examiners abound chiefly in wit, the last in humour. Soon after their first appearance, came out a paper from the other side, called The "Whig Examiner," written with so much fire, and in so excellent a style, as put the tories in no small pain for their favourite hero: every one cried, "Bickerstaff must be the author;" and people were the more confirmed in this opinion upon its being so soon laid down, which seemed to show that it was only written to bind the Examiners to their good behaviour, and was never designed to be a weekly paper. The Examiners therefore have no one to combat with at present, but their friend the Medley; the author of which paper, though he seems to be a man of good sense, and expresses it luckily enough now and then, is, I think, for the most part, perfectly a stranger to fine writing. I presume I need not tell you, that The Examiner carries much the more sail, as it is supposed to be written by the direction, and under the eye, of some great persons who sit at the helm of affairs, and is consequently looked on as a sort of publick notice which way they are steering us. The reputed author is Dr. Swift, with the assistance sometimes of Dr. Atterbury and Mr. Prior*.

* "Present State of Wit," supposed to be written by Mr. Gay; see the eighteenth volume of this edition. N.

Having

Having completed the design which first engaged him in the undertaking with N°. 45, June 7, 1711; Dr. Swift then took his leave of the town in the last paragraph of that Number; and on the same day wrote thus to Mrs. Johnson. "As for the Examiner, I have heard a whisper, that after that of this day, which tells what *this* Parliament have done, you will hardly find them so good. I prophecy they will be trash for the future. Methinks, in this day's Examiner, the author speaks doubtfully, as if he would write no more. Observe whether the change be discovered in Dublin, only for your own curiosity, that's all."

From this time, Swift had no farther concern with the publication, except by assisting in the single number of the succeeding week.

The Examiner indeed still continued to be published; but it sunk immediately into rudeness and ill-manners, being written by some *under spur-leathers** in the City, whose scurrility was encouraged (as Swift himself did not scruple to own) by the ministry themselves, who employed this paper to return the Grub-street invectives thrown out by the authors of the Medley, the Englishman, and some other detracting papers of the same stamp.

It is now no longer a secret that N°. 46 was written by Mrs. Manley with the assistance of Dr. Swift; and that the next six numbers were also by the same hand. On the 22d of June (the

* "I have instructed an *under spur-leather* to write so that it is taken for mine." Journal to Stella, Oct. 10, 1711. This was probably the *under-strapper* noticed Nov. 26, 1711; whom he elsewhere calls, "a scrub instrument of mischief of mine."

day

day after N°. 47 was published) Swift says, "Yesterday was a sad Examiner; and last week's was very indifferent; though some scraps of the old spirit, as if he had *given* hints;" and on the 15th of July, "I do not like any thing in the Examiner after the 45th, except the first part of the 46th."—Mrs. Manley's last paper was N°. 52, July 26; and in a letter, dated Nov. 3, 1711, Swift says, "The first thirteen Examiners were written by several hands, some good, some bad; the next three and thirty were all by one hand; that makes forty-six; then the author, whoever he was, laid it down, on purpose to confound guessers; and the last six were written by a woman. The printer is going to print them in a small volume; it seems the author is too proud to have them printed by subscription, though his friends offered, they say, to make it worth 500l. to him."

On the 6th of December following, the work was resumed by Oldisworth *, who completed four volumes

* Of Mr. William Oldisworth, little is now remembered but the titles of some of his literary productions. He was editor of the Muses' Mercury, 1707; and published, 1. "A Dialogue between Timothy and Philatheus, in which the Principles and Projects of a late whimsical Book, intitled *The Rights of the Christian Church*, &c. are fairly stated, and answered in their kind, &c. By a Layman, 1709, 1710," 3 vols. 8vo. 2. "A Vindication of the Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Blackall) against Mr. Hoadly." 3. A volume called "State Tracts." 4. Another called, "State and Miscellany Poems, by the Author of the Examiner, 1715," 8vo. 5. He translated the "Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace." 6. The "Life of Edmund Smith," prefixed to his Works, written "with all the partiality of friendship;" said by Dr. Burton, to shew "what fine things one man of parts can say of another;" and which Dr. Johnson has

volumes more; and published nineteen numbers more of the sixth volume, when the Queen's death put an end to the work *. During this long period the only articles that are known to be by Dr. Swift are, a hint which he gave about the prorogation of the parliament, and to praise the queen for her tenderness to the Dutch, in giving them still time to submit, which he notices to Mrs. Johnson, Jan. 15, 1712-13; and says, "It suited the occasions at present." The vindication of his friend, Mr. Lewis, in N°. 21 of the third volume, Feb. 2, 1712-13, which is printed at length in the fifth volume of the present edition, is undoubtedly Swift's; which he more than once acknowledges, in his Journal to Stella, Jan. 27, Jan. 31, and Feb. 1.

The publick at large, however, still considered the paper to be under the management of Swift; who tells Mrs. Johnson, March 23, 1712-13, "The Examiner has cleared me to-day of being author of his paper, and done it with great civilities to me. I hope it will stop people's mouths; if not, they must go on, and be hang'd; I care not."—The letter alluded to has the following

has honoured by incorporating it into his biographical preface on Smith.—That Oldisworth had an attachment to the abdicated royal family, is admitted; which gave occasion to a report in the Weekly Packet, Jan. 17, 1715-16, that he was killed with his sword in his hand, in the engagement at Preston, in company with several others who had the same fate; having resolved not to survive the loss of the battle." But this report was groundless, as he lived till Sept. 15, 1734.

* No. 19, was published July 26, 1714; and on the 8th of October came out the first number of "The Controller, being a Sequel to the Examiner;" published also by Morphew.

passage

passage in the 35th number of vol. III. in which Mr. Oldisworth, speaking of some of his opponents, says, "I shall at once ease them of a great deal of guilt, as well as importance, by putting a final stop to some of their daily clamours, and for ever shutting up one of their most liberal sluices of scandal. They have been a long time laying a load upon a gentleman of the first character for learning, good sense, wit, and more virtues than even they can set off and illustrate by all the opposition and extremes of vice which are the compounds of their party. He is indeed fully accomplished to be mortally hated by them; and they needed not to charge him with writing the Examiner, as if that were a sufficient revenge, in which they show as little judgment as truth. I here pronounce him clear of that imputation; and, out of pure regard to justice, strip myself of all the honour that lucky untruth did this paper; reserving to myself the entertaining reflection, that I was once taken for a man who has a thousand other recommendations, besides the notice of the worst men, to make him loved and esteemed by the best. This is the second time I have humoured that party, by publickly declaring who is not the author of the Examiner. I will lend them no more light, because they do not love it. I could only wish, that their invectives against that gentleman had been considerable enough to call forth his publick resentments; and I stand amazed at their folly in provoking so much ruin to their party. Their intellectuals must be as stupid as their consciences, not to dread the terrors of his pen, though they met him with all that

spite

spite to his person which they ever expressed against his order."

May 12, 1713, after several sparrings between the Examiner and the Guardian, Steele thus indirectly states, in the Guardian, N°. 53, that the Examiner was written either by Dr. Swift or Mrs. Manley: "I have been told, by familiar friends, that they saw me such a time talking to the Examiner; others, who have rallied me upon the sins of my youth, tell me it is credibly reported, that I have formerly lain with the Examiner. I have carried my point, and rescued innocence from calumny; and it is nothing to me, whether the Examiner writes against me in the character of an *estranged friend*, or an *exasperated mistress*."—This paragraph raised the indignation of Swift*; who complained of it to their common friend Mr. Addison: "Is he so ignorant," Swift says, "of my temper, and of my style? Had he never heard that the author of the Examiner (to whom I am altogether a stranger) did a month or two ago, vindicate me from having any concern with it? Should not Mr. Steele have first expostulated with me as a friend?"—In a letter which this produced from Steele it being

* "In the latter part of Swift's life, affliction throws a sacredness around him, that sets discernment and discrimination at defiance. My eye tries in vain to get a glimpse of his features; it can see nothing distinctly for tears. But in his best condition, his virulent treatment of Steele, and his very many unaccountable instances of insolence and caprice, seem to have been indications or ebullitions of that insanity, which afterwards overpowered him." Dr. Calder, in the notes on the Tatler, 1786, vol. v. p. 311. N.

still

still insinuated that Swift was an accomplice of the Examiner: he thus indignantly repels the charge: "I appeal to your most partial friends, whether you might not either have asked or written to me, or desired to have been informed by a third hand, whether I were any way concerned in writing the Examiner? And if I had shuffled, or answered indirectly, or affirmed it, or said I would not give you satisfaction; you might then have wreaked your revenge with some colour of justice. I have several times assured Mr. Addison, and fifty others, that I had not the least hand in writing any of those papers; and that I had never exchanged one syllable with the supposed author in my life, that I can remember, nor even seen him above twice, and that in mixed company, or in a place where he came to pay his attendance."

Of Swift's Examiners, Dr. Johnson observes, that "in argument he may be allowed to have the advantage; for, where a wide system of conduct, and the whole of a publick character, is laid open to inquiry, the accuser, having the choice of facts, must be very unskilful if he does not prevail."—Lord Orrery, who commends the Examiners for their "nervous style, clear diction, and great knowledge of the true landed interest of England," observes, that "their author was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence;" that "he was employed, not trusted." Remarks, &c. Letter iv. The earl of Chesterfield also asserts, that "the lie of the day was coined and delivered out to him, to write Examiners and other political papers upon." It may be

proper,

proper, however, to take notice, that neither of these noble peers appear to have seen Swift's "Preface" to his "History of the Four last Years of the Queen;" and, with all due deference to these great authorities, the present Editor cannot but be of opinion, that Swift's manly fortitude and very accurate discernment of the human heart would have prevented his being a dupe to the intrigues of a statesman, however dignified. He himself assures us, "that he was of a temper to think no man great enough to set him on work:" that "he absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord treasurer, because he thought it would ill become him to be in a state of dependance." Indeed his whole conduct in that busy period (in which "it was his lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her majesty's death; and a witness of every step they made in the course of their administration") demonstrates the respectable situation he then so ably filled. And when at last the time arrived in which he was to be rewarded for his services, in how different a light does he appear from that of a hireling writer! He frankly told the treasurer, "he could not with any reputation stay longer here, unless he had something honourable immediately given to him." Whilst his noble patrons were undetermined whether he should be promoted to St. Patrick's or to a stall at Windsor, he openly assured lord Bolingbroke, "he would not stay for their disputes." And we find he exerted his interest so effectually with the duke of Ormond, as to overrule

rule a prejudice that nobleman had conceived against Dr. Sterne, whose promotion to the see of Dromore made the vacancy at St. Patrick's. "The duke, with great kindness, said, he would consent; but would do it for no man else but me." Swift acknowledges "this affair was carried with great difficulty;" but adds, "they say here, it is much to my reputation, that I have made a bishop in spite of the world, and to get the best deanery in Ireland." N.

THE

EXAMINER.

NUMBER XIV.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1710.

—— longa est injuria, longæ
Ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.

The tale is intricate, perplex'd, and long:
Hear, then, in short, the story of her wrong.

IT is a practice I have generally followed, to converse in equal freedom with the deserving men of both parties; and it was never without some contempt, that I have observed persons wholly out of employment, affect to do otherwise. I doubted, whether any man could owe so much to the side he was of, although he were retained by it; but without some great point of interest, either in possession or prospect, I thought it was the mark of a low and narrow spirit.

It is hard, that for some weeks past I have been forced, in my own defence, to follow a proceeding that I have so much condemned in others. But several of my acquaintance among the declining party, are grown so insufferably peevish and splenetic, profess such violent apprehensions for the publick, and represent the state of things in such formidable ideas, that I find myself disposed to share in their afflictions; although I know them

them to be groundless and imaginary, or, which is worse, purely affected. To offer them comfort one by one, would be not only an endless, but a disobliging task. Some of them, I am convinced, would be less melancholy, if there were more occasion. I shall therefore, instead of harkening to farther complaints, employ some part of this paper for the future, in letting such men see, that their natural, or acquired fears, are ill-founded, and their artificial ones as ill-intended; that all our present inconveniences are the consequence of the very councils they so much admire, which would still have increased, if those had continued; and that neither our constitution in church or state, could probably have been long preserved, without such methods, as have been already taken.

The late revolutions at court, have given room to some specious objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning men, just as they had taken them up on the credit of others, who have worse designs. They wonder the queen would choose to change her ministry at this juncture, and thereby give uneasiness to a general, who hath been so long successful abroad, and might think himself injured, if the entire ministry were not of his own nomination; that there were few complaints of any consequence against the late men in power, and none at all in parliament, which, on the contrary, passed votes in favour of the chief minister; that if her majesty had a mind to introduce the other party, it would have been more seasonable after a peace, which now we have made desperate, by spiriting the French,

who

who rejoice in these changes, and by the fall of our credit, which unqualifies us for carrying on the war; that the parliament, so untimely dissolved, had been diligent in their supplies, and dutiful in their behaviour; that one consequence of these changes appears already in the fall of the stocks; that we may soon expect more and worse; and lastly, that all this naturally tends to break the settlement of the crown, and call over the Pretender.

These, and the like notions, are plentifully scattered abroad by the malice of a ruined party, to render the Queen and her administration odious, and to inflame the nation. And these are what, upon occasion, I shall endeavour to overthrow, by discovering the falsehood and absurdity of them.

It is a great unhappiness when, in a government constituted like ours, it should be so brought about, that the continuance of a war must be for the interest of vast numbers (civil as well as military) who otherwise would have been as unknown as their original. I think our present condition of affairs is admirably described by two verses in Lucan:

Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore fœnus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum:

which, without any great force upon the words, may be thus translated:

"Hence, are derived those exorbitant interests and annuities; hence, those large discounts for advance and prompt payment; hence, publick

lick credit is shaken; and hence, great numbers find their profit in prolonging the war."

It is odd, that among a free trading people, as we call ourselves, there should so many be found to close in with those counsels, who have been ever averse from all overtures towards a peace: but yet there is no great mystery in the matter. Let any man observe the equipages in this town, he shall find the greater number of those who make a figure, to be a species of men quite different from any that were ever known before the Revolution; consisting either of generals and colonels, or of those, whose whole fortunes lie in funds and stocks; so that power, which according to the old maxim was used to follow land, is now gone over to money; and the country gentleman is in the condition of a young heir, out of whose estate a scrivener receives half the rents for interest, and has a mortgage on the whole: and is therefore always ready to feed his vices and extravagances, while there is any thing left. So that, if the war continue some years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army, and to the public funds.

It may perhaps be worth inquiring, from what beginnings, and by what steps, we have been brought into this desperate condition: and in search of this, we must run up as high as the Revolution.

Most of the nobility and gentry, who invited over the prince of Orange, or attended him in his expedition, were true lovers of their country, and its constitution in church and state; and were

brought to yield to those breaches in the succession of the crown, out of a regard to the necessity of the kingdom, and the safety of the people, which did, and could only, make them lawful; but without intention of drawing such a practice into precedent, or making it a standing measure by which to proceed in all times to come; and therefore we find their councils ever tended to keep things, as much as possible, in the old course. But soon after an under set of men, who had nothing to lose, and had neither born the burden nor heat of the day, found means to whisper in the king's ear, that the principles of loyalty in the church of England were wholly inconsistent with the Revolution. Hence began the early practice of caressing the dissenters, reviling the universities, as maintainers of arbitrary power, and reproaching the clergy with the doctrines of divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistance. At the same time, in order to fasten wealthy people to the new government, they proposed those pernicious expedients of borrowing money by vast premiums, and at extortionate interest: a practice as old as Eumenes, one of Alexander's captains, who, setting up for himself after the death of his master, persuaded his principal officers to lend him great sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own security.

This introduced a number of new dexterous men into business and credit. It was argued, that the war could not last above two or three campaigns; and that it was easier for the subjects to raise a fund for paying interest, than to tax them

them annually to the full expense of the war. Several persons, who had small or encumbered estates, sold them, and turned their money into those funds, to great advantage: merchants, as well as other monied men, finding trade was dangerous, pursued the same method. But the war continuing, and growing more expensive, taxes were increased, and funds multiplied every year, till they have arrived at the monstrous height we now behold them; and that, which was at first a corruption, is at last grown necessary, and what every good subject must now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wish it might soon have an end; because it is with a kingdom, as with a private fortune, where every new incumbrance adds a double weight. By this means the wealth of a nation, that used to be reckoned by the value of land, is now computed by the rise and fall of stocks: and although the foundation of credit be still the same, and upon a bottom that can never be shaken, and although all interest be duly paid by the publick; yet, through the contrivance and cunning of stock-jobbers, there has been brought in such a complication of knavery and cozenage, such a mystery of iniquity, and such an unintelligible jargon of terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other age or country in the world. I have heard it affirmed, by persons skilled in these calculations, that if the funds appropriated to the payment of interest and annuities, were added to the yearly taxes, and the four-shilling aid strictly exacted in all counties of the kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, supply the occasions of

the war, at least such a part as, in the opinion of very able persons, had been at that time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a question, whether any wise prince or state, in the continuance of a war, which was not purely defensive, or immediately at his own door, did ever propose that his expense should perpetually exceed, what he was able to impose annually upon his subjects. Neither, if the war last many years longer, do I see how the next generation will be able to begin another; which, in the course of human affairs, and according to the various interests and ambition of princes, may be as necessary for them, as it has been for us. And if our fathers had left us deeply involved, as we are likely to leave our children, I appeal to any man, what sort of figure we should have been able to make these twenty years past. Besides, neither our enemies nor allies, are upon the same foot with us in this particular. France and Holland, our nearest neighbours, and the farthest engaged, will much sooner recover themselves after a war: the first by the absolute power of the prince, who, being master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, will quickly find expedients to pay his debts; and so will the other, by their prudent administration, the greatness of their trade, their wonderful parsimony, the willingness of their people to undergo all kind of taxes, and their justice in applying, as well as collecting them. But above all we are to consider, that France and Holland fight on the continent, either upon or near their own territories, and the greatest part f the money circulates among themselves;

whereas

whereas ours crosses the sea, either to Flanders, Spain, or Portugal; and every penny of it, whether in species or returns, is so much lost to the nation for ever.

Upon these considerations alone, it was the most prudent course imaginable in the Queen, to lay hold of the disposition of the people for changing the parliament and ministry at this juncture, and extricating herself as soon as possible out of the pupillage of those, who found their accounts only in perpetuating the war. Neither have we the least reason to doubt, but the ensuing parliament will assist her Majesty with the utmost vigour, until her enemies again be brought to sue for peace, and again offer such terms as will make it both honourable and lasting; only with this difference, that the ministry perhaps will not again refuse them.

Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
Rara, juventus. Hor. Book I. Ode 2.

NUMBER XV.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1710.

E quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,
Hi narrata ferunt alio, mensuraque ficti
Crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit autor.
Illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error,
Vanaque Lætitia est, consternatique Timores,
Seditioque recens, dubioque autore Susarri.

With idle tales this fills our empty ears;
The next reports what from the first he hears;
The rolling fictions grow in strength and size,
Each author adding to the former lies.
Here vain credulity, with new desires,
Leads us astray, and groundless joy inspires,
The dubious whispers, tumults fresh design'd,
And chilling fears astound the anxious mind.

I AM prevailed on, through the importunity of friends, to interrupt the scheme I had begun in my last paper, by an "Essay upon the Art of Political lying." We are told the devil is the father of lies, and was a liar from the beginning; so that beyond contradiction the invention is old: and, which is more, his first Essay of it was purely political, employed in undermining the authority of his prince, and seducing a third part of the subjects from their obedience; for which he was driven down from Heaven, where (as Milton expresses it) he had been viceroy of a great western province: and forced to exercise his talent in inferior regions among other fallen spirits, poor or deluded men, whom he still daily tempts

tempts to his own sin, and will ever do so, till he be chained in the bottomless pit.

But although the devil be the father of lies, he seems, like other great inventors, to have lost much of his reputation, by the continual improvements that have been made upon him.

Who first reduced lying into an art, and adapted it to politicks, is not so clear from history: although I have made some diligent inquiries. I shall therefore consider it only according to the modern system, as it has been cultivated these twenty years past in the southern part of our own island.

The poets tell us, that after the giants were overthrown by the gods, the earth in revenge produced her last offspring, which was Fame. And the fable is thus interpreted: that when tumults and seditions are quieted, rumours and false reports are plentifully spread through a nation. So that, by this account, lying is the last relief of a routed, earth-born, rebellious party in a state. But here the moderns have made great additions, applying this art to the gaining of power and preserving it, as well as revenging themselves after they have lost it, as the same instruments are made use of by animals, to feed themselves when they are hungry, and to bite those that tread upon them.

But the same genealogy cannot always be admitted for political lying; I shall therefore desire to refine upon it, by adding some circumstances of its birth and parents. A political lie is sometimes born out of a discarded statesman's head, and thence delivered to be nursed and dandled

dled by the rabble. Sometimes it is produced a monster, and licked into shape; at other times it comes into the world completely formed, and is spoiled in the licking. It is often born an infant in the regular way, and requires time to mature it; and often it sees the light in its full growth, but dwindles away by degrees. Sometimes it is of noble birth; and sometimes the spawn of a stock-jobber. Here it screams aloud at the opening of the womb; and there it is delivered with a whisper. I know a lie, that now disturbs half the kingdom with its noise, which although too proud and great at present to own its parents, I can remember its whisperhood. To conclude the nativity of this monster; when it comes into the world without a sting, it is still-born, and whenever it loses its sting, it dies.

No wonder if an infant so miraculous in its birth, should be destined for great adventures; and accordingly we see it has been the guardian spirit of a prevailing party, for almost twenty years. It can conquer kingdoms without fighting, and sometimes with the loss of a battle. It gives and resumes employments; can sink a mountain to a mole hill, and raise a mole-hill to a mountain: has presided for many years at committees of elections; can wash a black-moor white; make a saint of an atheist, and a patriot of a profligate; can furnish foreign ministers with intelligence, and raise or let fall the credit of the nation. This goddess flies with a huge looking-glass in her hands, to dazzle the crowd, and make them see, according as she turns it, their ruin in their interest, and their interest in their ruin.

ruin. In this glass you will behold your best friends, clad in coats powdered with fleurs de lis, and triple crowns; their girdles hung round with chains, and beads; and wooden shoes: and your worst enemies, adorned with the ensigns of liberty, property, indulgence, moderation, and a cornucopia in their hands. Her large wings, like those of a flying fish, are of no use but while they are moist; she therefore dips them in mud, and soaring aloft scatters it in the eyes of the multitude, flying with great swiftness; but at every turn is forced to stoop in dirty ways for new supplies.

I have been sometimes thinking, if a man had the art of the second sight for seeing lies, as they have in Scotland for seeing spirits, how admirably he might entertain himself in this town, by observing the different shapes, sizes, and colours of those swarms of lies, which buzz about the heads of some people, like flies about a horse's ears in summer; or those legions hovering every afternoon in Exchange-alley, enough to darken the air; or over a club of discontented grandees, and thence sent down in cargoes to be scattered at elections.

There is one essential point, wherein a political liar differs from others of the faculty; that he ought to have but a short memory, which is necessary, according to the various occasions he meets with every hour of differing from himself, and swearing to both sides of a contradiction, as he finds the persons disposed with whom he has to deal. In describing the virtues and vices of mankind, it is convenient, upon every article, to have

have some eminent person in our eye, from whom we copy our description. I have strictly observed this rule; and my imagination this minute represents before me a certain great man* famous for this talent, to the constant practice of which, he owes his twenty years reputation of the most skilful head in England, for the management of nice affairs. The superiority of his genius consists in nothing else, but an inexhaustible fund of political lies, which he plentifully distributes every minute he speaks, and by an unparalleled generosity forgets, and consequently contradicts, the next half hour. He never yet considered, whether any proposition were true or false, but whether it were convenient for the present minute or company, to affirm or deny it; so that if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he says, as we do dreams, by the contrary, you are still to seek, and will find yourself equally deceived whether you believe or not: the only remedy is to suppose, that you have heard some inarticulate sounds, without any meaning at all; and besides, that will take off the horror you might be apt to conceive at the oaths, wherewith he perpetually tags both ends of every proposition; although at the same time, I think, he cannot with any justice be taxed with perjury, when he invokes God and Christ; because he has often fairly given publick notice to the world, that he believes in neither.

Some people may think, that such an accomplishment as this, can be of no great use to the

* The first earl of Wharton. N.

owner,

owner, or his party, after it has been often practised and is become notorious; but they are widely mistaken. Few lies carry the inventor's mark, and the most prostitute enemy to truth may spread a thousand without being known for the author: besides, as the vilest writer has his readers, so the greatest liar has his believers; and it often happens, that if a lie be believed only for an hour, it has done its work, and there is no farther occasion for it. Falsehood flies, and truth comes limping after it; so that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late; the jest is over, and the tale has had its effect: like a man, who has thought of a good repartee, when the discourse is changed, or the company parted; or like a physician, who has found out an infalliable medicine, after the patient is dead.

Considering that natural disposition in many men to lie, and in multitudes to believe, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim so frequent in every body's mouth; that truth will at last prevail. Here has this island of ours, for the greatest part of twenty years, lain under the influence of such counsels and persons, whose principle and interest it was, to corrupt our manners, blind our understanding, drain our wealth, and in time destroy our constitution both in church and state; and we at last were brought to the very brink of ruin; yet by the means of perpetual misrepresentations, have nev erbeen able to distinguish between our enemies and friends. We have seen a great part of the nation's money got into the hands of those, who by their birth, education, and merit, could pretend no higher than

to

to wear our liveries; while others, who, by their credit, quality, and fortune, were only able* to give reputation and success to the Revolution, were not only* laid as e as dangerous and useless, but loaden with the scandal of Jacobites†, men of arbitrary principles, and pensioners to France; while truth, who is said to lie in a well, seemed now to be buried there under a heap of stones. But I remember, it was a usual complaint among the whigs, that the bulk of the landed men was not in their interests, which some of the wisest looked on as an ill omen; and we saw it was with the utmost difficulty, that they could preserve a majority, while the court and ministry were on their side, till they had learned those admirable expedients for deciding elections, and influencing distant boroughs, by powerful motives from the city. But all this was mere force and constraint, however upheld by most dextrous artifice and management, until the people began to apprehend their properties, their religion, and the monarchy itself in danger; when we saw them greedily laying hold on the first occasion to interpose.

* *Were only able*—by this arrangement the word, *only*, becomes of ambiguous meaning, and the ear is hurt by the repetition of the same words, at the commencement of the two members of the sentence so near each other—*were only* able—*were* not *only*, &c. This may be prevented by substituting the word, *alone*, in the place of the first, *only;* as thus—While others, who, by their credit, quality, and fortune, were *alone* able to give reputation and success to the Revolution, were not only laid aside, &c. S.

† But loaden with the scandal of Jacobites——may mean with the scandal thrown on them by Jacobites; it should be—with the scandal of *being* Jaco bites, &c. S.

But

But of this mighty change in the dispositions of the people, I shall discourse more at large in some following paper; wherein I shall endeavour to undeceive, or discover, those deluded, or deluding persons, who hope or pretend, it is only a short madness in the vulgar, from which they may soon recover; whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its causes, its symptoms, and its consequences; and prove a great example to illustrate the maxim I lately mentioned; that truth (however sometimes late) will at last prevail.

NUMBER XVI.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1710.

——— medioque ut limite curras,
Icare, ait, moneo: ne si demissior ibis,
Unda gravet pennas; si celsior, ignis adurat.

——My boy, take care
To wing thy course along the middle air;
If low, the surges wet thy flagging plumes;
If high, the sun the melting wax consumes.

IT must be avowed that, for some years past, there have been few things more wanted in England than such a paper as this ought to be: and such I will endeavour to make it as long as it shall be found of any use, without entering into the violences of either party. Considering the many grievous

grievous misrepresentations of persons and things, it is highly requisite at this juncture, that the people throughout the kingdom should, if possible, be set right in their opinions by some impartial hand; which has never been yet attempted; those, who have hitherto undertaken it, being, upon every account, the least qualified of all human-kind for such work.

We live here under a limited monarchy, and under the doctrine and discipline of an excellent church. We are unhappily divided into two parties, both which pretend a mighty zeal for our religion, and government, only they disagree about the means. The evils we must fence against, are, on one side, fanaticism and infidelity in religion, and anarchy, under the name of a commonwealth, in government; on the other side, popery, slavery, and the Pretender from France. Now, to inform and direct us in our sentiments upon these weighty points, here are, on one side, two stupid illiterate scribblers, both of them fanaticks by profession, I mean the Review, and Observator; on the other side, we have an open Nonjuror, whose character and person, as well as learning and good sense, discovered upon other subjects, do indeed deserve respect and esteem; but his Rehearsal, and the rest of his political papers, are yet more pernicious than those of the former two. If the generality of the people know not how to talk or think, until they have read their lesson in the papers of the week, what a misfortune is it, that their duty should be conveyed to them through such vehicles as those! For, let some gentlemen think what they please, I cannot but suspect,

suspect, that the two worthies I first mentioned, have, in a degree, done mischief among us; the mock authoritative manner of the one, and the insipid mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the lowest part of mankind. Neither was the author of the Rehearsal, while he continued that paper, less infectious to many persons of better figure, who, perhaps, were as well qualified, and much less prejudiced, to judge for themselves.

It was this reason, that moved me to take the matter out of those rough as well as those dirty hands; to let the remote and uninstructed part of the nation see, that they have been misled on both sides, by mad ridiculous extremes, at a wide distance on each side of the truth; while the right path is so broad and plain, as to be easily kept, if they were once put into it.

Farther: I had lately entered on a resolution to take little notice of other papers, unless it were such, where the malice and falsehood had so great a mixture of wit and spirit, as would make them dangerous: which, in the present circle of scribblers, from twelve-pence to a half-penny, I could easily foresee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to dispense with my resolution, although it be only to tell my reader what measures I am likely to take on such occasions for the future. I was told, that the paper called The Observator, was twice filled last week with remarks upon a late Examiner. These I read with the first opportunity, and, to speak in the news-writer's phrase, they gave me occasion for many speculations.

tions. I observed, with singular pleasure, the nature of those things which the owners of them usually call answers, and with what dexterity this matchless author had fallen into the whole art and cant of them. To transcribe here and there three or four detached lines of least weight in a discourse, and by a foolish comment mistake every syllable of the meaning, is what I have known many, of a superior class to this formidable adversary, entitle an Answer. This is what he has exactly done, in about thrice as many words as my whole discourse*; which is so mighty an advantage over me, that I shall by no means engage in so unequal a combat; but, as far as I can judge of my own temper, entirely dismiss him for the future; heartily wishing he had a match exactly of his own size to meddle with, who should only have the odds of truth and honesty; which, as I take it, would be an effectual way to silence him for ever. Upon this occasion, I cannot forbear a short story of a fanatick farmer, who lived in my neighbourhood, and was so great a disputant in religion, that the servants in all the families thereabouts reported, how he had confuted the bishop and all his clergy. I had then a footman, who was fond of reading the Bible: and I borrowed a comment for him, which he studied so close, that in a month or two I thought him a match for the farmer. They disputed at several houses, with a ring of servants and other people always about them; where Ned explained his texts so full and

* This is neither grammar nor sense; it should be—as my whole discourse *contains*. S.

clear

clear* to the capacity of his audience, and showed the insignificancy of his adversary's cant to the meanest understanding, that he got the whole country on his side, and the farmer was cured of his itch of disputation for ever after.

The worst of it is, that this sort of outrageous party-writers I have spoken of above, are like a couple of makebates, who inflame small quarrels by a thousand stories, and by keeping friends at a distance, hinder them from coming to a good understanding; as they certainly would, if they were suffered to meet and debate between themselves: for let any one examine a reasonable honest man, of either side, upon those opinions in religion and government, which both parties daily buffet each other about; he shall hardly find one material point in difference between them. I would† be glad to ask a question about two great men of the late ministry. How they came to be whigs? and by what figure of speech, half a dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called tories? I doubt, whoever would suit the definition to the persons, must make it directly contrary to what we understood it at the time of the Revolution.

In order to remove these misapprehensions among us, I believe it will be necessary, upon occasion, to detect the malice and falsehood of some popular maxims, which those idiots scatter from the press twice a week, and draw a hundred absurd consequences from them.

* It should be, so *fully* and *clearly*. S.

† *Would*, here, is improperly used for, *should*. S.

For example; I have heard it often objected, as a great piece of insolence in the clergy and others, to say or hint, that the church was in danger, when it was voted otherwise in parliament some years ago; and the queen herself, in her last speech, did openly condemn all such insinuations. Notwithstanding which, I did then, and do still, believe the church has, since that vote, been in very imminent danger; and I think I might then have said so, without the least offence to her majesty, or either of the two houses. The queen's words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the church being in danger from her administration; and whoever says or thinks that, deserves, in my opinion, to be hanged for a traitor: but, that the church and state may be both in danger under the best princes that ever reigned, and without the least guilt of theirs, is such a truth, as a man must be a great stranger to history and common sense, to doubt. The wisest prince on earth, may be forced, by the necessity of his affairs, and the present power of an unruly faction; or deceived, by the craft of ill-designing men. One or two ministers, most in his confidence, may at first have good intentions, but grow corrupted by time, by avarice, by love, by ambition, and have fairer terms offered them to gratify their passions or interests, from one set of men than another, until they are too far involved for a retreat; and so be forced to take seven spirits more wicked than themselves. This is a very possible case; and will not the last state of such men be worse than the first? that is to say, will not the publick, which was safe at first, grow in danger by such proceedings

proceedings as these? And shall a faithful subject, who foresees and trembles at the consequences, be called disaffected, because he delivers his opinion, although the prince declares, as he justly may, that the danger is not owing to his administration? or shall the prince himself be blamed, when, in such a juncture, he puts his affairs into other hands, with the universal applause of his people? As to the vote against those who should affirm the church was in danger, I think it likewise referred to danger from, or under, the queen's administration; for I neither have it by me, nor can suddenly have recourse to it; but, if it were otherwise, I know not how it can refer to any dangers, but what were past, or at that time present; or how it could affect the future, unless the senators were all inspired, or, at least, that majority which voted it: neither do I see it is any crime, farther than ill manners, to differ in opinion from a majority of either or both houses; and that ill manners *, I must confess, I have been often guilty of for some years past, although I hope I never shall again.

Another topick of great use to these weekly inflamers, is, the young Pretender in France, to whom their whole party is in a high measure indebted for all their greatness; and whenever it lies in their power, they may perhaps return their acknowledgments, as, out of their zeal for frequent revolutions, they were ready to do to his supposed father; which

* *That ill manners* is certainly ungrammatical; it should be that species of ill manners. S.

is a piece of secret history, that I hope will one day see the light; and I am sure it shall, if ever I am master of it, without regarding whose ears may tingle. But at present, the word *Pretender*, is a term of art in their profession. A secretary of state cannot desire leave to resign, but the Pretender is at bottom; the queen cannot dissolve a parliament, but it is a plot to dethrone herself and bring in the Pretender; half a score stock-jobbers are playing the knave in Exchange-alley, and there goes the Pretender with a sponge. One would be apt to think, they bawl out the Pretender so often, to take off the terrour; or tell so many lies about him, to slacken our caution, that when he is really coming, by their connivance, we may not believe them; as the boy served the shepherds about the coming of the wolf: or perhaps they scare us with the Pretender, because they think he may be like some diseases, that come with a fright. Do they not believe, that the queen's present ministry love her majesty, at least as well as some loved the church? And why is it not as great a mark of disaffection now, to say the queen is in danger; as it was some months ago to affirm the same of the church? Suppose it be a false opinion, that the queen's right is hereditary and indefeasible; yet how is it possible that those who hold and believe such a doctrine, can be in the Pretender's interest. His title is weakened by every argument that strengthens hers: it is as plain as the words of an act of parliament can make it, That her present majesty is heir to the survivor of the late king and queen her sister? is not that an hereditary

reditary right*? What need we explain it any farther? I have known an article of faith expounded in much looser and more general terms, and that, by an author, whose opinions are very much followed by a certain party. Suppose we go farther, and examine the word *indefeasible*, with which some writers of late have made themselves so merry: I confess it is hard to conceive how any law, which the supreme power makes, may not by the same power be repealed; so that I shall not determine, whether the queen's right be indefeasible or not. But this I will maintain, that whoever affirms it is so, is not guilty of a crime; for in that settlement of the crown after the Revolution, where her present majesty is named in remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) these remarkable words, "to which we bind ourselves and our posterity for ever." Lawyers may explain this, or call them words of form as they please; and reasoners may argue, that such an obligation is against the nature of government; but a plain reader, who takes the words in their natural meaning, may be excused in thinking a right so confirmed is indefeasible; and if there be an absurdity in such an opinion, he is not to answer for it.

* Our author's sentiments on *hereditary right*, as exhibited in this Examiner, and in vol. iii. in "The Sentiments of a Church of England Man," are a very clear proof that he could not have been the author of a laboured tract on that subject, ascribed to him in 1775, under the title of "A Discourse on Hereditary Rights, written in the year 1712, by a celebrated Clergyman." N.

P. S.

P.S. When this paper was going to the press, the printer brought me two more Observators, wholly taken up in my Examiner upon lying, which I was at the pains to read; and they are just such an answer, as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to say on that matter.

NUMBER XVII.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1710.

Qui sunt boni cives? Qui belli, qui domi de patriâ bene merentes, nisi qui patriæ beneficia meminerunt?

Who is the good and laudable citizen? Who in peace, or who in war has merited the favour of his country? Who but that person who with gratitude remembers and acknowledges the favours and rewards he has already received.

I WILL employ this present paper upon a subject, which of late has very much affected me, which I have considered with a good deal of application, and made several inquiries about among those persons, who, I thought, were best able to inform me; and if I deliver my sentiments with some freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that tenderness, which so nice a point requires.

I said in a former paper, No. XIV. that one specious

specious objection to the late removals at court, was, the fear of giving uneasiness to a general, who has been long successful abroad; and accordingly, the common clamour of tongues and pens for some months past has run against the baseness, the inconstancy, and ingratitude of the whole kingdom to the duke of Marlborough, in return of the most eminent services, that ever were performed by a subject, to his country; not to be equalled in history: and then, to be sure, some bitter stroke of detraction against Alexander and Cæsar, who never did us the least injury. Besides, the people who read Plutarch, come upon us with parallels drawn from the Greeks and Romans, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their most deserving generals; while the profounder politicians have seen pamphlets, where Tacitus and Machiavel have been quoted to show the danger of too resplendent a merit. If a stranger should hear these serious outcries of ingratitude* against our general without knowing the particulars, he would be apt to inquire, where was his tomb, or whether he was allowed Christian burial? not doubting but we had put him to some ignominious death. Or has he been tried for his life, and very narrowly escaped? has he been accused of high crimes and misdemeanors? has the prince seized on his estate, and left him to starve? has he been hooted at, as he passed the

* By this mode of expression may be meant the general's ingratitude, not that of the nation; instead of *against*, the word should have been *toward*; as thus, 'If a stranger should hear these furious outcries of ingratitude *toward* our general,' &c. S.

streets,

streets, by an ungrateful rabble? have neither honours, offices, nor grants been conferred on him or his family? have not he and they been barbarously stripped of them all? have not he and his forces been ill paid abroad? and does not the prince, by a scanty limited commission, hinder him from pursuing his own methods in the conduct of the war? has he no power at all of disposing of commissions as he pleases? is he not severely used by the ministry or parliament, who yearly call him to a strict account? has the senate ever thanked him for good success, and have they not always publickly censured him for the least miscarriage?—Will the accusers of the nation join issue upon any of these particulars, or tell us in what point our damnable sin of ingratitude lies? —Why, it is plain and clear; for while he is commanding abroad, the queen dissolves her parliament, and changes her ministry at home; in which universal calamity, no less than two persons allied by marriage to the general have lost their places. Whence came this wonderful sympathy between the civil and military powers? Will the troops in Flanders refuse to fight unless they can have their own lord-keeper, their own lord-president of the council, their own parliament? In a kingdom where the people are free, how came they to be so fond of having their counsels under the influence of their army, or those that lead it? who, in all well instituted states, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reserve.

When a general is not so popular, either in his army

army or at home, as one might expect from a long course of success; it may perhaps be ascribed to his wisdom, or perhaps to his complexion. The possession of some one quality, or defect in some other, will extremely damp the people's favour, as well as the love of the soldiers. Besides, this is not an age to produce favourites of the people, while we live under a queen, who engrosses all our love and all our veneration; and where the only way, for a great general or minister, to acquire any degree of subordinate affection from the publick, must be, by all marks of the most entire submission and respect, to her sacred person and commands; otherwise, no pretence of great services, either in the field or the cabinet, will be able to skreen them from universal hatred.

But the late ministry was closely joined to the general by friendship, interest, alliance, inclination, and opinion; which cannot be affirmed of the present: and the ingratitude of the nation lies in the people's joining as one man to wish, that such a ministry should be changed. Is it not at the same time notorious to the whole kingdom, that nothing but a tender regard to the general, was able to preserve that ministry so long, until neither God nor man could suffer their continuance? Yet, in the highest ferment of things, we heard few or no reflections upon this great commander; but all seemed unanimous in wishing he might still be at the head of the confederate forces; only at the same time, in case he were resolved to reign, they chose rather to turn their thoughts somewhere else, than throw up all in despair. And this I cannot but add, in defence

of

of the people, with regard to the person we are speaking of, that in the high station he has been for many years past, his real defects (as nothing human is without them) have, in a detracting age, been very sparingly mentioned either in libels or conversation, and all successes very freely and universally applauded.

There is an active and a passive ingratitude: applying both to this occasion, we may say, the first is, when a prince or people returns good services with cruelty or ill-usage; the other is, when good services are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already spoken of the former; let us therefore in the second place examine how the services of our general have been rewarded; and whether, upon that article, either prince or people, have been guilty of ingratitude?

Those are the most valuable rewards, which are given to us from the certain knowledge of the donor, that they fit our temper best? I shall therefore say nothing of the title of duke, or the garter, which the queen bestowed upon the general in the beginning of her reign; but I shall come to more substantial instances, and mention nothing, which has not been given in the face of the world. The lands of Woodstock may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000l.: on the building of Blenheim castle 200,000l. have been already expended, although it be not yet near finished; the grant of 5000l. per annum on the post office is richly worth 100,000l. his principality in Germany may be computed at 30,000l. pictures, jewels, and other gifts from foreign princes, 60,000l. the grant at the Pall-mall, the rangership,

ship, &c. for want of more certain knowledge, may be called 10,000l. his own and his duchess's employments at five years value, reckoning only the known and avowed salaries, are very low rated at 100,000l. Here is a good deal above half a million of money; and, I dare say, those who are loudest with the clamour of ingratitude, will readily own, that all this is but a trifle, in comparison of what is untold.

The reason of my stating this account, is only to convince the world, that we are not quite so ungrateful either as the Greeks or Romans; and in order to adjust the matter with all fairness, I shall confine myself to the latter, who were much more generous of the two. A victorious general of Rome, in the height of that empire, having entirely subdued his enemies, was rewarded with the larger triumph, and perhaps a statue in the Forum, a bull for a sacrifice, an embroidered garment to appear in, a crown of laurel, a monumental trophy with inscriptions; sometimes five hundred or a thousand copper coins were struck on occasion of the victory, which, doing honour to the general, we will place to his account; and lastly, sometimes, although not very frequently, a triumphal arch. These are all the rewards, that I can call to mind, which a victorious general received, after his return from the most glorious expedition; having conquered some great kingdom, brought the king himself, his family, and nobles, to adorn the triumph, in chains; and made the kingdom, either a Roman province, or at best, a poor depending state, in humble alliance

ance* to that empire. Now, of all these rewards, I find but two which were of real profit to the general; the laurel crown, made and sent him at the charge of the publick, and the embroidered garment; but I cannot find, whether this last was paid for by the senate or the general: however we will take the more favourable opinion; and in all the rest admit the whole expense, as if it were ready money in the general's pocket. Now, according to these computations on both sides, we will draw up two fair accounts; the one of Roman gratitude; and the other of British ingratitude; and set them together in balance.

A Bill of ROMAN Gratitude.

	£.	s.	d.
Imprimis—For frankincense and earthen pots to burn it in -	4	10	0
A bull for sacrifice - - - - - - -	8	0	0
An embroidered garment - - - -	50	0	0
A crown of laurel - - - - - - -	0	0	2
A statue - - - - - - - - - -	100	0	0
A trophy - - - - - - - - - -	80	0	0
A thousand copper medals, value half-pence a piece - - -	2	1	8
A triumphal arch - - - - - - -	500	0	0
A triumphal car, valued as a modern coach - - - - -	100	0	0
Casual charges at the triumph - -	150	0	0
	£ 994	11	10

* It should be—"in humble alliance *with* that empire." We say—*allied to*—but, *in alliance with*. S.

A Bill

A Bill of British Ingratitude.

	£.
Imprimis—Woodstock - - - - - -	40,000
Blenheim - - - - - - - - - -	200,000
Post-office grant - - - - - - - -	100,000
Mildenheim - - - - - - - - -	30,000
Pictures, jewels, &c. - - - - -	60,000
Pall-mall grant, &c. - - - - -	10.000
Employments - - - - - - - - -	100,000
	£ 540,000

This is an account of the visible profits on both sides; and if the Roman general had any private perquisites, they may be easily discounted, and by more probable computations, and differ yet more upon the balance, if we consider, that all the gold and silver for safeguards and contributions, also all valuable prizes taken in the war, were openly exposed in the triumph, and then lodged in the Capitol for the public service.

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite so bad at worst, as the Romans were at best. And I doubt, those who raise this hideous cry of ingratitude, may be mightily mistaken in the consequence they propose from such complaints. I remember a saying of Seneca, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus;* we find many ungrateful persons in the world, but we make more, by setting too high a rate upon our pretensions, and undervaluing the rewards we receive. When unreasonable bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the middle. Where there have

have been long accounts between two persons, I have known one of them perpetually making large demands, and pressing for payment; who, when the accounts were cast up on both sides was found to be debtor for some hundreds. I am thinking, if a proclamation were issued out for every man to send in his bill of merits, and the lowest price he set them at; what a pretty sum it would amount to, and how many such islands as this must be sold to pay them. I form my judgment from the practice of those who sometimes happen to pay themselves; and I dare affirm, would not be so unjust as to take a farthing more than they think is due to their deserts. I will instance only in one article: a lady* of my acquaintance appropriated twenty-six pounds a year out of her allowance, for certain uses, which her woman received, and was to pay to the lady or her order, as it was called for †. But after eight

* Supposed to be queen Anne. H.

† "The matter was this: At the queen's accession to the government, she used to lament to me, that, the crown being impoverished by former grants, she wanted the power her predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful servants; and she desired me to take out of the privy purse 2000l. a year, in order to purchase for my advantage.—As her majesty was so good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted—I constantly declined it till the time —she was pleased to dismiss me from her service. Then indeed— I sent the queen one of her own letters, in which she had pressed me to take the 2000l. a year; and I wrote at the same time to ask her majesty whether she would allow me to charge in the privy purse accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly sum from the time of the offer, amounting to 18,000l. Her majesty was pleased to answer, I might charge it. This therefore I did."

Account

eight years it appeared, upon the strictest calculation, that the woman had paid but four pounds a year, and sunk two and twenty for her own pocket. It is but supposing, instead of twenty-six pounds, twenty-six thousand; and by that you may judge, what the pretensions of modern merit are, where it happens to be its own paymaster.

NUMBER XVIII.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1710.

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset; eas omnes sese, hoc uno prætore per triennium, pertulisse aiebant.

These things were the effect of his scandalous and unbounded luxury, his insatiable avarice, his contumelious insolence. These were the sufferings of that unhappy nation, for three years, under his oppressive government.

WHEN I first undertook this paper, I was resolved to concern myself only with things, and not with persons. Whether I have kept or broken this resolution, I cannot recollect; and I will not be at the pains to examine, but leave the matter to those little antagonists who may want a topick for criticism. Thus much I have dis-

Account of the conduct of the dowager Duchess of Marlborough, pp. 294, 295. N.

covered

covered, that it is in writing, as in building; where, after all our schemes and calculations, we are mightily deceived in our accounts, and often forced to make use of any materials we can find, that the work may be kept a going. Besides, to speak my opinion, the things I have occasion to mention are so closely linked to persons, that nothing but time (the father of oblivion) can separate them. Let me put a parallel case: suppose I should complain, that last week my coach was within an inch of overturning in a smooth even way, and drawn by very gentle horses; to be sure, all my friends would immediately lay the fault upon John, because they knew he then presided in my coach-box. Again, suppose I should discover some uneasiness to find myself, I knew not how, over head and ears in debt, although I were sure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never spent half my income; they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr. Oldfox* my receiver, and take another. If, as a justice of peace, I should tell a friend, that my warrants and mittimuses were never drawn up as I would have them; that I had the misfortune to send an honest man to gaol, and dismiss a knave; he would bid me no longer trust Charles and Harry†, my two clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant,

* Lord Godolphin. N.

† Charles earl of Sunderland, and Henry Boyle, esq. were at this time secretaries of state. Mr. Boyle, the youngest son of Charles lord Clifford, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer to king William, in March 1701, and was much esteemed by that prince. He continued in that post till Feb. 12, 1707-8, when he was made one of the principal secretaries of state, in which

ignorant, wilful, assuming, and ill-inclined fellows. If I should add, that my tenants made me very uneasy with their squabbles and broils among themselves; he would counsel me to cashier Will. Bigamy *, the seneschal of my manor. And lastly, if my neighbour and I happened to have a misunderstanding about the delivery of a message, what could I do less than strip and discard the blundering or malicious rascal, who carried it?

It is the same thing in the conduct of publick affairs, where they have been managed with rashness or wilfulness, corruption, ignorance, or injustice. Barely to relate the facts, at least whild they are fresh in memory, will as much reflect upon the persons concerned, as if we had told their names at length.

I have therefore since thought of another expedient, frequently practised with great safety and success by satirical writers; which is, that of look-

which station he remained till Sept. 20, 1710; on the accession of George I. was created lord Carleton; made lord president of the council, June 25, 1720; and died, unmarried, March 14, 1724-5. N.

* William Cowper, esq. soon after being called to the bar, was appointed one of king William's counsel; he succeeded sir Nathan Wrighte, as lord keeper of the great seal, Oct. 11, 1705; was created baron Cowper of Wingham, Nov. 9, 1706; and appointed lord chancellor, May 4, 1707; which post he held till Sept. 14, 1710. On the accession of king George, he was again appointed lord chancellor; and, on resigning the great seal, was created viscount Fordwich, and earl Cowper, March 18, 1717-18. He nobly refused to accept new-years-gifts from the counsellors at law, which had long been given to his predecessors; and, what is still more to his honour, foresaw and opposed the destructive measures of the South Sea bubble in 1720. He died Oct. 10, 1723. N.

ing into history for some character bearing a resemblance to the person we would describe; and with the absolute power of altering, adding, or suppressing what circumstances we please, I conceive we must have very bad luck, or very little skill, to fail. However, some days ago in a coffee-house looking into one of the politick weekly papers, I found the writer had fallen into this scheme; and I happened to light on that part, where he was describing a person, who, from small beginnings, grew (as I remember) to be constable of France, and had a very haughty imperious wife. I took the author as a friend to our faction; for so, with great propriety of speech, they call the queen and ministry, almost the whole clergy, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom; and I said to a gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what persons the author meant, yet there were several particulars in the husband's character, which I could not reconcile; for that of the lady, it was just and adequate enough. But it seems I mistook the whole matter, and applied all I had read to a couple of persons, who were not at that time in the writer's thoughts.

Now, to avoid such a misfortune as this, I have been for some time consulting Livy and Tacitus, to find out a character of a *princeps senatus*, a *prætor urbanus*, a *quætor ærarius*, a *Cæsari ab epistolis*, and a *proconsul*: but among the worst of them, I cannot discover one, from whom to draw a parallel without doing injury to a Roman memory: so that I am compelled to have recourse to Tully. But, this author relating facts only as an orator, I thought it would be best to observe his

his method, and make an extract from six harangues of his against Verres, only still preserving the form of an oration. I remember a younger brother of mine, who deceased about two months ago, presented the world with a speech of Alcibiades against an Athenian brewer. Now I am told for certain, that in those days there was no ale in Athens; therefore that speech, or at least a great part of it, must needs be spurious. The difference between my brother and me is this; he makes Alcibiades say a great deal more than he really did, and I make Cicero say a great deal less. This Verres* had been the Roman governor of Sicily for three years; and, on his return from his government, the Sicilians entreated Cicero to impeach him in the senate; which he accordingly did in several orations, whence I have faithfully translated and abstracted that which follows:

"My Lords,

"A pernicious opinion has for some time prevailed, not only at Rome, but among our neighbouring nations, that a man who has money enough, although he be ever so guilty, cannot be condemned in this place. But, however industriously this opinion be spread to cast an odium on the senate, we have brought before your lordships Caius Verres, a person, for his life and actions, already condemned by all men; but, as he hopes and gives out, by the influence of his wealth to be here absolved: in condemning this man, you have an opportunity of belying that general

* The earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland. N.

scandal, of redeeming the credit lost by former judgments, and recovering the love of the Roman people, as well as of our neighbours. I have brought here a man before you, my lords, who is a robber of the public treasure, an overturner of law and justice, and the disgrace as well as destruction of the Sicilian province; of whom if you shall determine with equity and due severity, your authority will remain entire, and upon such an establishment as it ought to be: but, if his great riches will be able to force their way through that religious reverence and truth, which become so awful an assembly; I shall however obtain thus much, that the defect will be laid where it ought; and that it shall not be objected, that the criminal was not produced, or that there wanted an orator to accuse him. This man, my lords, has publickly said, that those ought to be afraid of accusations, who have only robbed enough for their own support and maintenance; but that he has plundered sufficient to bribe numbers; and that nothing is so high or so holy, which money cannot corrupt. Take that support from him, and he can have no other left: for what eloquence will be able to defend a man, whose life has been tainted with so many scandalous vices, and who has been so long condemned by the universal opinion of the world? To pass over the foul stains and ignominy of his youth, his corrupt management in all employments he has born, his treachery and irreligion, his injustice and oppression: he has left of late such monuments of his villanies in Sicily, made such havock and confusion there, during his government, that the province

province cannot by any means be restored to its former state, and hardly recover itself at all, under many years, and by a long succession of good governors. While this man governed in that island, the Sicilians had neither the benefit of our laws, nor their own, nor even of common right. In Sicily, no man now possesses more than what the governor's lust and avarice have overlooked, or what he was forced to neglect, out of mere weariness and satiety of oppression. Every thing, where he presided, was determined by his arbitrary will; and the best subjects he treated as enemies. To recount his abominable debaucheries, would offend any modest ear, since so many could not preserve their daughters and wives from his lust. I believe there is no man, who ever heard his name, that cannot relate his enormities. We bring before you in judgment, my lords, a public robber, an adulterer, a DEFILER OF ALTARS*, an enemy of religion, and of all that is sacred. In Sicily he sold all employments of judicature, magistracy, and trust, places in the council, and the priesthood itself, to the highest bidder; and has plundered that island of forty millions of sesterces. And here I cannot but observe to your lordships, in what manner Verres passed the day; the morning was spent in taking bribes and selling employments; the rest of it, in drunkenness and lust. His discourse at table was scandalously unbecoming the dignity of his

* The story of the lord Wharton is true; who, with some other wretches, went into a pulpit, and defiled it in the most filthy manner. H.

station;

station; noise, brutality, and obsceneness. One particular I cannot omit; that in the high character of governor of Sicily, upon a solemn day, a day set apart for public prayer for the safety of the commonwealth, he stole at evening in a chair to a married woman of infamous character, against all decency and prudence, as well as against all laws both human and divine. Didst thou think, O Verres! the government of Sicily was given thee with so large a commission, only, by the power of that, to break all the bars of law, modesty, and duty; to suppose all men's fortunes thine, and leave no house free from thy rapine and lust?" &c.

This extract, to deal ingenuously, has cost me more pains than I think it is worth; having only served to convince me, that modern corruptions are not to be paralleled by ancient examples, without having recourse to poetry or fable. For instance, I never read in story of a law enacted to take away the force of all laws whatsoever; by which a man may safely commit upon the last of June, what he would infallibly be hanged for, if he committed it on the first of July: by which the greatest criminals may escape, provided they continue long enough in power to antiquate their crimes, and by stifling them a while can deceive the legislature into an amnesty, of which the enactors do not at that time foresee the consequence. A cautious merchant will be apt to suspect, when he finds a man who has the repute of a cunning dealer, and with whom he has old accounts, urging for a general release. When I reflect on this proceeding, I am not surprised that

those,

those, who contrived a parliamentary sponge, for their crimes, are now afraid of a new revolution sponge, for their money: and if it were possible to contrive a sponge, that could only affect those who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed.

NUMBER XIX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1710.

Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas; tot bella per orbem;
Tam multæ scelerum facies———

Where sacred order fraud and force confound;
Where impious wars and tumults rage around.

I AM often violently tempted to let the world freely know, who the author of this paper is; to tell them my name and titles at length; which would prevent abundance of inconsistent criticisms I daily hear upon it. Those who are enemies to the notions and opinions I would advance, are sometimes apt to quarrel with the Examiner, as defective in point of wit, and sometimes of truth. At other times, they are so generous and candid to allow, it is written by a club, and that very great hands have fingers in it. As for those who only appear its adversaries in print, they give me but very little pain. The paper I hold, lies at my

my mercy, and I can govern it as I please; therefore, when I begin to find the wit too bright, the learning too deep, and the satire too keen for me to deal with, (a very frequent case, no doubt, where a man is constantly attacked by such shrewd adversaries) I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aside, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the same power over people's tongues, and not be forced to hear my own work railed at, and commended, fifty times a day; affecting all the while a countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining, out of policy or good manners, with the judgment of both parties: this, I confess, is too great a hardship for so bashful and unexperienced a writer.

But, alas, I lie under another discouragement of much more weight. I was very unfortunate in the choice of my party, when I set up to be a writer. Where is the merit, or what opportunity to discover our wit, our courage, or our learning, in drawing our pens for the defence of a cause, which the queen and both houses of parliament, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom, have so unanimously embraced? I am cruelly afraid, we politick authors must begin to lessen our expenses, and lie for the future at the mercy of our printers. All hopes are now gone of writing ourselves into places or pensions. A certain starveling author, who worked under the late administration, told me, with a heavy heart, about a month ago, that he, and some others of his brethren, had secretly offered their service, dog-cheap, to the present ministry, but were all refused; and are now maintained by contribution,

like

like Jacobites or fanaticks. I have been of late employed, out of perfect commiseration, in doing them good offices: for, whereas some were of opinion, that these hungry zealots should not be suffered any longer in their malapert way, to snarl at the present course of publick proceedings; and whereas others proposed, that they should be limited to a certain number, and permitted to write for their masters, in the same manner as counsel are assigned for other criminals, that is, to say all they can in defence of their client, but not reflect upon the court; I humbly gave my advice, that they should be suffered to write on, as they used to do; which I did purely out of regard to their persons; for I hoped it would keep them out of harm's way, and prevent them from falling into evil courses; which, though of little consequence to the publick, would certainly be fatal to themselves. If I have room at the bottom of this paper, I will transcribe a petition to the present ministry, sent me by one of these authors, in behalf of himself and fourscore others of his brethren.

For my own part, notwithstanding the little encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the men in power, I shall continue my paper, till either the world or myself grow weary of it: the latter is easily determined; and for the former, I shall not leave it to the partiality of either party, but to the infallible judgment of my printer. One principal end I designed by it, was, to undeceive those well meaning people, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong sense of things, either by the common prejudices of education and company,

the

the great personal qualities of some party leaders, or the foul misrepresentations that were constantly made of all, who durst differ from them in the smallest article. I have known such men struck with the thoughts of some late changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any reason visible to the world. In answer to this, it is not sufficient to allege, what nobody doubts, that a good and wise prince may be allowed to change his ministers, without giving a reason to his subjects; because it is probable, that he will not make such a change, without very important reasons; and a good subject ought to suppose, that in such a case there are such reasons, although he be not apprised of them; otherwise he must inwardly tax his prince of capriciousness, inconstancy, or ill-design. Such reasons indeed may not be obvious to persons prejudiced, or at a great distance, or short-thinkers; and therefore, if there be no secrets of state, nor any ill-consequences to be apprehended from their publication, it is no uncommendable work in any private hand, to lay them open for the satisfaction of all men. And if what I have already said, or shall hereafter say, of this kind, be thought to reflect upon persons, although none have been named, I know not how it can possibly be avoided. The queen in her speech mentions, with great concern, that "the navy and other offices are burdened with heavy debts; and desires, that the like may be prevented for the time to come." And if it be now possible to prevent the continuance of an evil, that has been so long growing upon us, and is arrived to such a height; surely those corruptions and mismanage-

ments

ments must have been great, which first introduced them, before our taxes were eaten up by annuities.

If I were able to rip up, and discover in all their colours, only about eight or nine thousand of the most scandalous abuses, that have been committed in all parts of publick management, for twenty years past, by a certain set of men and their instruments, I should reckon it some service to my country and posterity. But, to say the truth, I should be glad the authors' names were conveyed to future times, along with their actions. For although the present age may understand well enough the little hints we give, the parallels we draw, and the characters we describe; yet all this will be lost to the next. However, if these papers, reduced into a more durable form, should happen to live till our grandchildren be men, I hope they may have curiosity enough to consult annals, and compare dates, in order to find out what names were then entrusted with the conduct of affairs, in the consequences whereof themselves will so deeply share: like a heavy debt in a private family, which often lies an incumbrance upon an estate for three generations.

But, leaving the care of informing posterity to better pens, I shall, with due regard to truth, discretion, and the safety of my person from the men of the new-fangled moderation, continue to take all proper opportunities of letting the misled part of the people see, how grossly they have been abused, and in what particulars. I shall also endeavour to convince them, that the present course we are in is the most probable means, with the blessing

blessing of God, to extricate ourselves out of all our difficulties.

Among those who are pleased to write or talk against this paper, I have observed a strange manner of reasoning, which I should be glad to hear them explain themselves upon*. They make no ceremony of exclaiming, upon all occasions, against a change of ministry, in so critical and dangerous a conjuncture. What shall we, who heartily approve and join in those proceedings, say in defence of them? We own the juncture of affairs to be as they describe: we are pushed for an answer; and are forced at last freely to confess, that the corruptions and abuses in every branch of the administration, were so numerous and intolerable, that all things must have ended in ruin, without some speedy reformation. This I have already asserted in a former paper: and the replies I have read, or heard, have been in plain terms to affirm the direct contrary: and not only to defend and celebrate the late persons and proceedings, but to threaten me with law and vengeance, for casting reflections on so many great and honourabl men, whose birth, virtue, and abilities, whose morals and religion, whose love of their country, and its constitution in church and state, were so universally allowed;

* This mode of finishing a sentence with a preposition, which has prevailed in almost all our writings, is very reprehensible, as in general it may easily be avoided. Thus, in the above sentence, 'which I should be glad to hear them explain themselves *upon*,' if the arrangement were changed in this manner—'*upon* which I should be glad to hear them explain themselves'—how much better would the sentence close? S.

and

and all this set off with odious comparisons, reflecting on the present choice: is not this, in plain and direct terms to tell all the world, that the queen has, in a most dangerous crisis, turned out a whole set of the best ministers that ever served a prince, without any manner of reason but her royal pleasure, and brought in others, of a character directly contrary? And how so vile an opinion as this, can consist with the least pretence to loyalty or good manners, let the world determine.

I confess myself so little a refiner in politicks, as not to be able to discover what other motive, beside obedience to the queen, a sense of publick danger, and a true love of their country, joined with invincible courage, could spirit up those great men, who have now, under her majesty's authority, undertaken the direction of affairs. What can they expect, but the utmost efforts of malice, from a set of enraged domestick adversaries, perpetually watching over their conduct, crossing all their designs, and using every art to foment divisions among them, in order to join with the weakest, upon any rupture? The difficulties they must encounter, are nine times more and greater than ever; and the prospects of the interest, after the reapings and gleanings of so many years, nine times less. Every misfortune at home or abroad, although the necessary consequence of former counsels, will be imputed to them; and all the good success, given to the merit of former schemes. A sharper has held your cards all the evening, played booty, and lost your money; and when

when things are almost desperate, you employ an honest gentleman to retrieve your losses.

I would ask, whether the queen's speech does not contain her intentions, in every particular, relating to the publick, that a good subject, a Briton, and a protestant, can possibly have at heart? "To carry on the war in all its parts, particularly in Spain, with the utmost vigour, in order to procure a safe and honourable peace for us and our allies; to find some ways of paying the debts of the navy; to support and encourage the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as are for the protestant succession in the house of Hanover." It is known enough, that speeches on these occasions are ever digested by the advice of those, who are in the chief confidence; and consequently, that these are the sentiments of her majesty's ministers, as well as her own; and we see, the two houses have unanimously agreed with her in every article. When the least counterpaces are made to any of these resolutions, it will be then time enough for our malecontents to bawl out popery, persecution, arbitrary power, and the Pretender. In the mean while, it is a little hard to think, that this island can hold but six men, of honesty and ability enough to serve their prince and country; or that our safety should depend upon their credit, any more than it would upon the breath in their nostrils. Why should not a revolution in the ministry be sometimes neces-

sary,

sary, as well as a revolution in the crown? It is to be presumed, the former is at least as lawful in itself, and perhaps the experiment not quite so dangerous. The revolution of the sun about the earth, was formerly thought a necessary expedient to solve appearances, although it left many difficulties unanswered; until philosophers contrived a better, which is that of the earth's revolution about the sun. This is found, upon experience, to save much time and labour, to correct many irregular motions, and is better suited to the respect due from a planet to a fixed star.

NUMBER XX.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1710.

Sunt quibus in satirâ videar nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus: sine nervis altera quicquid
Composui pars esse putat——

There are to whom too poignant I appear,
Beyond the laws of satire too severe.
My lines are weak, unsinewed, others say,
A man may spin a thousand such a day.

WHEN the printer came last week for his copy, he brought along with him a bundle of those papers, which, in the phrase of whig coffee-houses, have swinged off the Examiner: most of which I had never

never seen or heard of before. I remember some time ago, in one of the Tatlers, to have read a letter, wherein several reasons are assigned for the present corruption and degeneracy of our taste; but I think the writer has omitted the principal one, which I take to be the prejudice of parties. Neither can I excuse either* side of this infirmity: I have heard the arrantest drivellers *pro* and *con*, commended for their shrewdness, even by men of tolerable judgment; and the best performances exploded as nonsense and stupidity. This indeed may partly be imputed to policy and prudence; but it is chiefly owing to that blindness, which prejudice and passion cast over the understanding: I mention this, because I think it properly within my province in quality of Examiner. And having granted more than is usual for an enemy to do, I must now take leave to say, that so weak a cause, and so ruined a faction, were never provided with pens more resembling their condition, or less suited to their occasions.

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget———

This is the more to be wondered at, when we consider, they have the full liberty of the press; that they have no other way left to recover themselves; and that they want not men of excellent parts, to set their arguments in the best light they will bear. Now, if two men would argue on both

* These two words of similar sound, 'neither,' and 'either,' placed so near each other, produce a cacophony, easily to be avoided, by putting, 'nor,' in the place of 'neither,' as thus 'Nor can I accuse either side,' &c. S.

sides

sides with fairness, good sense, and good manners, it would be no ill entertainment to the town, and perhaps be the most effectual means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think, that men of great genius are hardly brought to prostitute their pens in a very odious cause; which, besides, is more properly undertaken by noise and impudence, by gross railing and scurrility, by calumny and lying, and by little trifling cavils and carpings in the wrong place, which those whifflers use for arguments and answers.

DISCARDED.

I was well enough pleased with a story of one of these answerers, who, in a paper last week, found many faults with a late calculation of mine. Being, it seems, more deeply learned than his fellows, he was resolved to begin his answer with a Latin verse, as well as other folks. His business was, to look out for something against the Examiner, that would pretend to tax accounts; and turning over Virgil, he had the luck to find these words

——*fugiant examina taxos:*

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky prompters had not hindered it.

I here declare, once for all, that if these people will not be quiet, I shall take the bread out of their mouths, and answer the Examiner myself; which I protest I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have those answers been written or published with my privity, as malicious people are pleased to give out; nor do I believe the common whiggish re-

port, that the authors are hired by the ministry, to give my paper a value.

But the friends of this paper have given me more uneasiness with their impatience, than its enemies, by their answers. I heard myself censured last week, by some of the former, for promising to discover the corruptions of the late administration, but never performing any thing. The latter, on the other side, are thundering out their anathemas against me, for discovering so many. I am at a loss how to decide between these contraries, and shall therefore proceed after my own way, as I have hitherto done; my design being of more importance, than that of writing only to gratify the spleen of one side, or provoke that of the other, although it may occasionally have both effects.

I shall therefore go on to relate some facts, that in my humble opinion were no hindrance to the change of the ministry.

The first I shall mention, was that of introducing certain new phrases into the court style, which had been very seldom, or never made use of in former times. They usually ran in the following terms: "Madam, I cannot serve you while such a one is in employment. I desire, humbly, to resign my commission, if Mr. ——— continues secretary of state. I cannot answer that the city will lend money, unless my l—d ——— be president of the council. I must beg leave to surrender, except ——— has the staff. I must not accept the seals, unless ——— comes into the other office." This has been the language of late years from subjects to their prince. Thus they stood upon terms, and must have their conditions to ruin the

the nation. Nay, this dutiful manner of capitulating had spread so far, that every understrapper began at length to perk up and assume; he expected a regiment; or his son must be a major; or his brother a collector; else he threatened to vote according to his conscience.

Another of their glorious attempts was, the clause intended in the bill for the encouragement of learning, by taking off the obligation upon fellows of colleges, in both universities, to enter upon holy orders: the design of which, as I have heard the undertakers often confess, was to remove the care of educating youths, out of the hands of the clergy, who are apt to infuse into their pupils too great a regard for the church and the monarchy. But there was a farther secret in this clause, which may best be discovered by the first projectors, or at least the garblers of it; and these are known to be Collins and Tindal, in conjunction with a most pious lawyer, their disciple.

What shall we say to their prodigious skill in arithmetick, discovered so constantly in their decision of elections; where they were able to make out by the rule of false, that three were more than three and twenty, and fifteen than fifty? Nay, it was a maxim, which I never heard any of them dispute, that in determining elections they were not to consider, where the right lay, but which of the candidates was likelier to be true to the cause. This they used to illustrate by a very apt and decent similitude, of gaming with a sharper; if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

Another cast of their politicks, was that of endeavouring

deavouring to impeach an innocent lady*, for no reason imaginable, but her faithful and diligent service to the queen, and the favour her majesty bore to her upon that account, when others had acted contrary in so shameful a manner. What else was the crime? Had she treated her royal mistress with insolence or neglect? Had she enriched herself by a long practice of bribery, and obtained exorbitant grants? Had she engrossed her majesty's favours, without admitting any access but through her means? Had she heaped employments upon herself, her family and dependants? Had she an imperious haughty behaviour? Or, after all, was it a perfect blunder, and mistake of one person for another? I have heard of a man, who lay all night on a rough pavement, and in the morning, wondering what it could possibly be that made him rest so ill, happening to see a feather under him, imputed the uneasiness of his lodging to that. I remember likewise the story of a giant in Rabelais, who used to feed upon windmills; but was unfortunately choked with a small lump of fresh butter, before a warm oven.

And here I cannot but observe, how very refined some people are in their generosity and gratitude. There is a certain great person, (I shall not say of what sex) who for many years past was the constant mark and butt, against which our present malecontents used to discharge their resentment; upon whom they bestowed all the terms of scurrility, that malice, envy, and indignation could invent; whom they publickly accused of every vice, that can possess a human

* Lady Masham. H.

heart;

heart; pride, covetousness, ingratitude, oppression, treachery, dissimulation, violence, and fury, all in the highest extremes: but of late they have changed their language on a sudden; that person is now the most faithful and just that ever served a prince; that person, originally differing from them in principles as far as east from west, but, united in practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty resemblances between each other, which they could never discover before. *Tanti est, ut placeam tibi perire!*

But to return: How could it be longer suffered a free nation, that all avenues to preferment should be shut up, except a very few; when one or two stood constant sentry, who docked all favours they handed down, or spread a huge invisible net between the prince and subject, and through which nothing of value could pass? And here I cannot but admire at one consequence from this management, which is of an extraordinary nature. Generally speaking, princes, who have ill ministers, are apt to suffer in their reputation, as well as in the love of the people; but it was not so with the queen. When the sun is overcast by those clouds he exhales from the earth, we still acknowledge his light and influence, and at last find he can dispel, and drive them down to the horizon. The wisest prince, by the necessity of affairs, the misrepresentations of designing men, or the innocent mistakes even of a good predecessor, may find himself encompassed by a crew of courtiers, whom time, opportunity, and success, have miserably corrupted: and if he can save himself and his people from ruin, under the worst administration,

ministration, what may not his subjects hope for, when, with their universal applause, he changes hands, and makes use of the best?

Another great objection with me against the late party, was, the cruel tyranny they put upon conscience, by a barbarous inquisition, refusing to admit the least toleration or indulgence. They imposed a hundred tests; but could never be prevailed on to dispense with, or take off, the smallest, or even to admit of occasional conformity; but went on daily (as their apostle Tindal expresses it) narrowing their terms of communion, pronouncing nine parts in ten of the kingdom hereticks, and shutting them out of the pale of their church. These very men, who talk so much of a comprehension in religion among us, how came they to allow so little of it in politicks, which is their sole religion? You shall hear them pretending to bewail the animosities kept up between the church of England and dissenters where the differences in opinion are so few and inconsiderable; yet, these very sons of moderation were pleased to excommunicate every man, who disagreed with them in the smallest article of their political creed, or, who refused to receive any new article, how difficult soever to digest, which the leaders imposed at pleasure to serve their own interest.

I will quit this subject for the present, when I have told one story. "There was a great king in Scythia, whose dominions were bounded on the north by the poor mountainous territories of a petty lord, who paid homage, as the king's vassal. The Scythian prime minister being largely bribed,

bribed, indirectly obtained his master's consent to suffer this lord to build forts, and provide himself with arms, under pretence of preventing the inroads of the Tartars. This little depending sovereign, finding he was now in a condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon terms, and threatened upon every occasion to unite with the Tartars: upon which the prime minister, who began to be in pain about his head, proposed a match betwixt his master, and the only daughter of this tributary lord, which he had the good luck to bring to pass; and from that time valued himself as author of a most glorious union, which indeed was grown of absolute necessity by his corruption." This passage, cited literally from an old history of Sarmatia, I thought fit to set down, on purpose to perplex little smattering remarkers, and put them upon the hunt for an application.

NUMBER XXI.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1710.

—— *pugnacem scirent sapiente minorem.*

Arms to the gown the victory must yield.

I AM very much at a loss how to proceed upon the subject intended in this paper, which a new incident

incident has led me to engage in. The subject I mean, is, that of soldiers and the army; but being a matter wholly out of my trade, I shall handle it in as cautious a manner as I am able.

It is certain, that the art of war has suffered great changes almost in every age and country of the world: however, there are some maxims relating to it, that will be eternal truths, and which every reasonable man must allow.

In the early times of Greece and Rome, the armies of those states were composed of their citizens, who took no pay, because the quarrel was their own; and therefore the war was usually decided in one campaign; or, if it lasted longer, yet in winter the soldiers returned to their several callings, and were not distinguished from the rest of the people. The Gothic governments in Europe, although they were of military institution, yet observed almost the same method. I shall instance only here in England: those who held lands *in capite* of the king, were obliged to attend him in his wars with a certain number of men, who all held lands from them, at easy rents, on that condition. These fought without pay; and when the service was over, returned again to their farms. It is recorded of William Rufus, that being absent in Normandy, and engaged in a war with his brother, he ordered twenty thousand men to be raised, and sent over hence to supply his army; but, having struck up a peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to disband, upon condition they would pay him ten shillings per man, which amounted to a mighty sum in those days.

Consider

Consider a kingdom as a great family, whereof the prince is the father, and it will appear plainly, that mercenary troops are only servants armed, either to awe the children at home, or else to defend from invaders the family, who are otherwise employed, and choose to contribute out of their stock for paying their defenders, rather than leave their affairs to be neglected in their absence. The art of making soldiery a trade, and keeping armies in pay, seems in Europe to have had two originals: the first was usurpation; when popular men destroyed the liberties of their country, and seized the power into their own hands, which they were forced to maintain by hiring guards to bridle the people. Such were anciently the tyrants in most of the small states of Greece; and such were those in several parts of Italy, about three or four centuries ago, as Machiavel informs us. The other original of mercenary armies, seems to have risen from larger kingdoms, or commonwealths, which had subdued provinces at a distance, and were forced to maintain troops upon them, to prevent insurrections from the natives. Of this sort were Macedon, Carthage, and Rome of old; Venice and Holland at this day, as well as most kingdoms in Europe. So that mercenary forces in a free state, whether monarchy or commonwealth, seem only necessary either for preserving their conquests, (which in such governments it is not prudent to extend too far) or else for maintaining war at a distance.

In this last, which at present is our most important case, there are certain maxims, that all wise governments have observed.

The

The first I shall mention is, that no private man should have a commission to be general for life, let his merit and services be ever so great; or, if a prince be unadvisedly brought to offer such a commission in one hand, let him (to save time and blood) deliver up his crown with the other. The Romans, in the height and perfection of their government, usually sent out one of the new consuls to be general against their most formidable enemy, and recalled the old one; who often returned before the next election, and, according as he had merit, was sent to command in some other part; which perhaps was continued to him for a second, and sometimes a third year. But if Paulus Æmilius, or Scipio himself, had presumed to move the senate to continue their commission for life, they would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of the people. Cæsar indeed (between whom and a certain general, some of late, with much discretion have made a parallel) had his command in Gaul continued to him for five years; and was afterwards made perpetual dictator, that is to say, general for life; which gave him the power and the will of utterly destroying the Roman liberty. But in his time the Romans were very much degenerated, and great corruptions had crept into their morals and discipline. However, we see there still were some remains of a noble spirit among them; for, when Cæsar sent to be chosen consul notwithstanding his absence, they decreed he should come in person, give up his command, and *petere more majorum.*

It is not impossible, but a general may desire such

such a commission out of inadvertency, at the instigation of his friends, or perhaps of his enemies; or merely for the benefit and honour of it, without intending any such dreadful consequences; and in that case a wise prince, or state, may barely refuse it, without showing any marks of their displeasure. But the request, in its own nature, is highly criminal, and ought to be entered so upon record to terrify others, in time to come, from venturing to make it.

Another maxim to be observed by a free state engaged in war, is, to keep the military power in absolute subjection to the civil, nor ever suffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A general and his army are servants, hired by the civil power to act, as they are directed thence, and with a commission large or limited, as the administration shall think fit; for which they are largely paid in profit and honour. The whole system, by which armies are governed, is quite alien from the peaceful institutions of states at home; and if the rewards be so inviting as to tempt a senator to take a post in the army, while he is there on his duty, he ought to consider himself in no other capacity. I know not any sort of men so apt as soldiers are, to reprimand those who presume to interfere in what relates to their trade. When they hear any of us, in a coffee-house, wondering that such a victory was not pursued; complaining that such a town cost more men and money than it was worth to take it; or that such an opportunity was lost in fighting the enemy: they presently reprove us, and often with justice enough, for meddling with

matters

matters out of our sphere; and clearly convince us of our mistakes, by terms of art that none of us understand. Nor do we escape so; for they reflect with the utmost contempt on our ignorance; that we, who sit at home in ease and security, never stirring from our firesides, should pretend, from books and general reason, to argue upon military affairs; which, after all, if we may judge from the share of intellectuals in some who are said to excel that way, is not so very profound, or difficult a science. But, if there be any weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, surely these gentlemen have a much weaker pretence to concern themselves in matters of the cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beside their capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to prescribe rules for trade, to determine points in philosophy, to be moderators in an assembly of divines, or direct in a court of justice, as to misplace their talent in examining affairs of state; especially in what relates to the choice of ministers, who are never so likely to be ill chosen as when approved by them. It would be endless to show how pernicious all steps of this nature have been in many parts and ages of the world. I shall only produce two at present; one in Rome, the other in England. The first is, of Cæsar: when he came to the city with his soldiers to settle the ministry, there was an end of their liberty for ever. The second was, in the great rebellion against king Charles the First: the king and both houses were agreed upon the terms of a peace; but the officers of the army (as Ludlow relates it) set a guard upon the house of commons,

commons, took a list of the members, and kept all by force out of the house, except those who were for bringing the king to a trial. Some years after, when they erected a military government, and ruled the island by major generals, we received most admirable instances of their skill in politicks. To say the truth, such formidable sticklers can have but two reasons for desiring to interfere in the administration; the first is, that of Cæsar and Cromwell; of which God forbid I should accuse or suspect any body, since the second is pernicious enough; and that is, to preserve those in power, who are for perpetuating a war, rather than see others advanced, who, they are sure, will use all proper means to promote a safe and honourable peace.

Thirdly, since it is observed of armies, that in the present age they are brought to some degree of humanity, and more regular demeanor to each other and to the world, than in former times, it is certainly a good maxim to endeavour preserving* this temper among them; without which, they would soon degenerate into savages. To this end it would be prudent, among other things,

* 'To endeavour preserving,' is not grammar; it should be, 'to endeavour to preserve;' or if, in order to avoid the two infinitives and the repetition of their particles, another mode should be preferred, it ought to be,—'to endeavour the preserving of 'this temper,' &c. The arrangement of the words as they now stand, has a very bad effect on the ear; 'endeavour | preserving | this temper | among them | ' form four successive amphibracus, with the accent four times repeated on the middle syllable of three in each foot, which give the sentence the air of a comic cantering verse. S.

to

to forbid that detestable custom of drinking to the damnation or confusion of any person whatsoever.

Such desperate acts, and the opinions infused along with them into heads already inflamed by youth and wine, are enough to scatter madness and sedition through a whole camp. So seldom upon their knees to pray, and so often to curse! this is not properly atheism, but a sort of antireligion prescribed by the devil, and which an atheist of common sense would scorn as an absurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common practice last autumn, somewhere or other, to drink damnation and confusion (and this with circumstances very aggravating and horrid) to the new ministry, and to those who had any hand in turning out the old: that is to say, to those persons whom her majesty has thought fit to employ in her greatest affairs, with something more than a glance against the queen herself. And if it be true, that these orgies were attended with certain doubtful words of standing by their general, who without question abhorred them, let any man consider the consequence of such dispositions, if they should happen to spread. I could only wish, for the honour of the army, as well as of the queen and ministry, that a remedy had been applied to the disease, in the place and time where it grew. If men of such principles were able to propagate them in a camp, and were sure of a general for life, who had any tincture of ambition, we might soon bid farewell to ministers and parliaments, whether new or old.

I am only sorry such an accident has happened toward

toward the close of a war; when it is chiefly the interest of those gentlemen, who have posts in the army, to behave themselves in such a manner, as might encourage the legislature to make some provision for them, when there will be no farther need of their services. They are to consider themselves as persons, by their education, unqualified for many other stations of life. Their fortunes will not suffer them to retain* to a party after its fall, nor have they weight or abilities to help toward its resurrection. Their future dependence is wholly upon the prince and parliament, to which they will never make their way by solemn execrations of the ministry; a ministry of the queen's own election, and fully answering the wishes of her people. This unhappy step in some of their brethren, may pass for an uncontrollable argument, that politicks are not their business, or their element. The fortune of war has raised several persons up to swelling titles, and great commands over numbers of men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into civil life, and appear in all companies, as if they were at the head of their regiments, with a sort of deportment that ought to have been dropt behind in that short passage to Harwich. It puts me in mind of a dialogue in Lucian, where Charon, wafting one of their predecessors over Styx, ordered him to strip off his armour and fine clothes, yet still

* 'To retain to'—is not grammar; 'retain,' being a verb active, will not admit of the particle 'to,' after it. 'Adhere to' is proper, as being a verb neuter. Or if the word retain should be preferred, it should be used in the substantive, not the verb, as thus—to be 'retainers to a party,' &c. S.

thought

thought him too heavy; "But," said he, "put off likewise that pride and presumption, those high-swelling words, and that vain glory:" because they were of no use on the other side of the water. Thus, if all that array of military grandeur were confined to the proper scene, it would be much more for the interest of the owners, and less offensive to their fellow subjects.

NUMBER XXII.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1710.

Nam et majorum instituta tueri, sacris ceremoniisque retineadis, sapientis est.

—Ruituraque semper
Stat (mirum!) moles—

A wise man will protect and defend the rights of the church; which, in spite of the malice of its enemies, although tottering, and on the brink of destruction, stands secure, to the admiration of all men.

WHOEVER is a true lover of our constitution, must needs be pleased to see what successful endeavours are daily made, to restore it, in every branch, to its ancient form, from the languishing condition it has long lain in, and with such deadly symptoms.

I have already handled some abuses during the late management, and shall, in convenient time, go on with the rest. Hitherto I have confined myself

myself to those of the state: but, with the good leave of some who think it a matter of small moment, I shall now take liberty to say something of the church.

For several years past there has not, I think, in Europe, been any society of men upon so unhappy a foot as the clergy of England; nor more hardly treated by those very persons, from whom they deserved much better quarter, and in whose power they chiefly had put it to use them so ill. I would not willingly misrepresent facts; but I think it generally allowed by enemies and friends, that the bold and brave defences made before the Revolution, against those many invasions of our rights, proceeded principally from the clergy; who are likewise known to have rejected all advances made them, to close with the measures at that time concerting; while the dissenters, to gratify their ambition and revenge, fell into the basest compliances with the court, approved of all proceedings by their numerous and fulsome addresses, and took employments and commissions by virtue of the dispensing power, against the direct laws of the land. All this is so true, that if ever the pretender comes in, they will, next to those of his own religion, have the fairest claim and pretensions to his favour, from their merit and eminent services to his supposed father; who, without such encouragement, would probably never have been misled to go the lengths he did. It should likewise be remembered, to the everlasting honour of the London divines, that in those dangerous times, they writ and published the best collection of arguments against popery

that ever appeared in the world. At the Revolution, the body of the clergy joined heartily in the common cause, except a few, whose sufferings perhaps have atoned for their mistakes; like men who are content to go about, for avoiding* a gulf or a precipice, but come into the old straight road again, as soon as they can. But another temper had now begun to prevail: for, as in the reign of king Charles the First, several well-meaning people were ready to join in reforming some abuses, while others, who had deeper designs, were still calling out for a thorough reformation, which ended at last in the ruin of the kingdom; so, after the late king's coming to the throne, there was a restless cry from men of the same principles, for a thorough revolution; which, as some were carrying it on, must have ended in the destruction of the monarchy and church.

What a violent humour has run ever since against the clergy, and from what corner spread and fomented, is, I believe, manifest to all men. It looked like a set quarrel against christianity; and if we call to mind several of the leaders, it must in a great measure have been actually so. Nothing was more common, in writing and conversation, than to hear that reverend body charged in gross with what was utterly inconsistent; despised for their poverty, hated for their riches; reproached with avarice, and taxed with luxury; accused for promoting arbitrary power, and for resisting the prerogative; censured for their pride,

* 'For avoiding'—a vulgar mode of expression; it should be 'in order to avoid a gulf,' &c. S.

and

and scorned for their meanness of spirit. The representatives of the lower clergy were railed at for disputing the power of the bishops, by the known abhorrers of episcopacy; and abused for doing nothing in the convocations, by those very men, who helped to bind up their hands. The vice, the folly, the ignorance of every single man, were laid upon the character: their jurisdiction, censures, and discipline, trampled under foot; yet mighty complaints against their excessive power; the men of wit employed to turn the priesthood itself into ridicule: in short, groaning every where under the weight of poverty, oppression, contempt, and obloquy. A fair return for the time and money spent in their education, to fit them for the service of the altar; and a fair encouragement for worthy men to come into the church! However, it may be some comfort to the persons of that holy function, that their divine Founder, as well as his harbinger, met with the like reception: "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, he hath a devil; the Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, behold a glutton and a wine-bibber," &c.

In this deplorable state of the clergy, nothing but the hand of Providence, working by its glorious instrument the queen, could have been able to turn the people's hearts so surprisingly in their favour. This princess, destined for the safety of Europe, and a blessing to her subjects, began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church; and it was hoped the nation would have followed such an example; which nothing could have prevented, but the false politicks of a set of

men, who form their maxims upon those of every tottering commonwealth, which is always struggling for life, subsisting by expedients, and often at the mercy of any powerful neighbour. These men take it into their imagination, that trade can never flourish, unless the country becomes a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages; a system only proper for small popular states, but altogether unworthy and below the dignity of an imperial crown; which with us, is best upheld by a monarchy in possession of its just prerogative, a senate of nobles and of commons, and a clergy established in its due rights, with a suitable maintenance by law. But these men come, with the spirit of shopkeepers, to frame rules for the administration of kingdoms; or, as if they thought the whole art of government consisted in the importation of nutmegs, and the curing of herrings. Such an island as ours can afford enough to support the majesty of a crown, the honour of a nobility, and the dignity of a magistracy: we can encourage arts and sciences, maintain our bishops and clergy, and suffer our gentry to live in a decent, hospitable manner; yet still there will remain hands sufficient for trade and manufactures, which do always indeed deserve the best encouragement, but not to a degree of sending every living soul into the warehouse or the workshop.

This pedantry of republican politicks has done infinite mischief among us. To this we owe those noble schemes of treating Christianity as a system of speculative opinions, which no man should be bound to believe: of making the being, and the worship

worship of God, a creature of the state; in consequence of these, that the teachers of religion ought to hold their maintenance at pleasure, or live by the alms and charitable collection of the people, and be equally encouraged of all opinions*; that they should be prescribed what to teach, by those who are to learn from them; and upon default, have a staff and a pair of shoes left at their door: with many other projects of equal piety, wisdom, and good nature.

But, God be thanked, they and their schemes are vanished, and their places shall know them no more. When I think of that inundation of atheism, infidelity, profaneness and licentiousness, which was likely to overwhelm us, from what mouths and hearts it first proceeded, and how the people joined with the queen's endeavours to divert this flood, I cannot but reflect on that remarkable passage in the Revelation, where "the serpent with seven heads† cast out of his mouth water after the woman like a flood, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood; but the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth." For the queen having changed her ministry suitable‡ to her own wisdom and the wishes of her subjects, and having called a free parliament, and at the

* This is a very loose inaccurate mode of speech, and a bad arrangement of the words, which might be thus changed—'and those of all opinions, be equally encouraged.' S.

† Meaning the seven chiefs of the whig ministry; whom he calls the Heptarchy in No. 26. N.

‡ 'Suitable' for 'suitably.' S.

same

same time summoned the convocation by her royal writ, as in all times had been accustomed; and soon after their meeting, sent a most gracious letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, to be communicated to the bishops and clergy of his province; taking notice of "the loose and profane principles, which had been openly scattered and propagated among her subjects: that the consultations of the clergy were particularly requisite to repress and prevent such daring attempts, for which her subjects from all parts of the kingdom have shewn their just abhorrence: she hopes the endeavours of the clergy in this respect will not be unsuccessful: and for her part, is ready to give them all fit encouragement, to proceed in the dispatch of such business, as properly belongs to them; and to grant them powers requisite to carry on so good a work:" in conclusion, "earnestly recommending to them to avoid disputes; and determining to do all that in her lies, to compose and extinguish them."

It is to be hoped, that this last part of her majesty's letter, will be the first she will please to execute; for, it seems, this very letter created the first dispute; the fact whereof is thus related: the upper house, having formed an address to the queen before they received her majesty's letter, sent both address and letter together to the lower house, with a message excusing their not mentioning the letter in the address, because this was formed before the other was received. The lower house returned them, with a desire that an address might be formed with a due regard and acknow-

acknowledgments for the letter. After some difficulties, the same address was sent down again, with a clause inserted making some short mention of the said letter. This the lower house did not think sufficient, and sent it back again with the same request: whereupon the archbishop, after a short consultation with some of his brethren, immediately adjourned the convocation for a month; and no address at all was sent to the queen.

I understand not ecclesiastical affairs well enough to comment upon this matter: but it seems to me, that all methods of doing service to the church and kingdom, by means of a convocation, may be at any time eluded, if there be no remedy against such an incident. And, if this proceeding be agreeable to the institution, spiritual assemblies must needs be strangely contrived, very different from any lay senate yet known in the world. Surely, from the nature of such a synod, it must be a very unhappy circumstance, when the majority of the bishops draws one way, and that of the lower clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this time suspected for any principle bordering upon those professed by enemies to episcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater part of the present set of bishops, I doubt it will call some things to mind, that may turn the scale of general favour on the inferior clergy's side; who, with a profound duty to her majesty, are perfectly pleased with the present turn of affairs. Besides, curious people will be apt to inquire into the dates of some promotions; to call to mind what designs were then upon the anvil;

anvil: and thence make malicious deductions. Perhaps they will observe the manner of voting on the bishops bench, and compare it with what shall pass in the upper house of convocation. There is however one comfort; that under the present dispositions of the kingdom, a dislike to the proceedings of any of their lordships, even to the number of a majority, will be purely personal, and not turned to the disadvantage of the order. And for my part, as I am a true lover of the church, I would rather find the inclinations of the people favourable to episcopacy in general, than see a majority of prelates cried up by those, who are known enemies to the character. Nor indeed has any thing given me more offence for several years past, than to observe, how some of that bench have been caressed by certain persons; and others of them openly celebrated by the infamous pens of atheists, republicans, and fanaticks.

Time and mortality can* only remedy these inconveniences in the church, which are not to be cured, like those in the state, by a change of ministry. If we may guess the temper of a convocation from the choice of a prolocutor, as it is usual to do that of a house of commons by the speaker, we may expect great things from that reverend body, who have done themselves much re-

* This arrangement leads to ambiguity; 'only' placed after 'can,' may signify can do no more than: as— can only palliate, not cure these evils. When 'only,' therefore, refers to things before enumerated, exclusively of all others, it ought always to precede 'can.' As thus—'Time and mortality, only, can remedy,' &c. S.

putation

putation*, by pitching upon a gentleman of so much piety, wit, and learning, for that office; and one who is so thoroughly versed in those parts of knowledge, which are proper for it. I am sorry that the three Latin speeches, delivered upon presenting the prolocutor, were not made publick; they might perhaps have given us some light into the disposition of each house: and besides, one of them is said to be so peculiar in the style and matter, as might have made up in entertainment, what it wanted in instruction.

* 'Who have done themselves much reputation,' &c. Neither grammar nor custom will authorize this phrase. There is a similar one in use indeed, as, 'they have done themselves great credit,' but yet is far from being proper: reputation and credit are what people do not bestow upon themselves, but are granted to them by others; the expression therefore should be—they have gained to themselves great reputation, great credit. This phrase is properly made use of on another occasion, where it is said of a man, that he has 'done himself justice,' because he has taken it out of all other hands, into his own. §.

NUMBER XXIII.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1710-11.

Nullæ sunt occultiores insidiæ, quam eæ, quæ latent in simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine.

It is extremely difficult to explore those designs which are conceived under the veil of duty, and lie hid under the pretence of friendship.

The following answer is written in the true style, and with the usual candour of such pieces; which I have imitated to the best of my skill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely satisfied with it.

THE EXAMINER cross-examined; or, A full Answer to the last EXAMINER.

IF I durst be so bold with this author, I would gladly ask him a familiar question: Pray, sir, who made you an examiner? He talks in one of his insipid papers of eight or nine thousand corruptions, while we were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he has hardly produced fifty:

Parturiunt montes, &c. HOR.

But I shall confine myself at present to his last paper. He tells us, the queen began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church. Here's priestcraft with a witness! This is the constant language of your highfliers, to call those who are hired to teach the religion of the magistrate, by the name of the church. But this is not all; for in

in the very next line he says, it was hoped the nation would have followed this example. You see the faction begins already to speak out: this is an open demand for the abbey-lands; this furious zealot would have us priestridden again, like our popish ancestors; but it is to be hoped the government will take timely care to suppress such audacious attempts; else we have spent so much blood and treasure, to very little purpose, in maintaining religion and the revolution. But what can we expect from a man, who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade? A country, says he, may flourish (these are his own words) without being the common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages. What! we must immediately banish, or murder the Palatines; forbid all foreign merchants not only the Exchange but the kingdom; persecute the dissenters with fire and faggot; and make it high treason to speak any other tongue but English. In another place he talks of a serpent with seven heads, which is a manifest corruption of the text; for the words, *seven heads*, are not mentioned in that verse. However, we know what serpent he would mean; a serpent with fourteen legs; or indeed no serpent at all, but seven great men, who were the best ministers, the truest protestants, and the most disinterested patriots, that ever served a prince. But nothing is so inconsistent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a whig or a tory, a protestant or a papist; he finds fault with convocations; says, they are assemblies strangely contrived; and yet lays the fault upon us, that we bound their hands: I wish we could have bound

their

their tongues too. But, as fast as their hands were bound, they could make a shift to hold their pens, and have their share in the guilt of ruining the hopefullest party and ministry that ever prescribed to a crown. This captious gentleman is angry to see a majority of prelates cried up by those, who are enemies to the character: now I always thought, that the concessions of enemies were more to a man's advantage than the praise of his friends. Time and mortality, he says, can only remedy these inconveniences in the church: that is, in other words, when certain bishops are dead, we shall have others of our own stamp. Not so fast; you are not yet so sure of your game. We have already got one comfortable loss in Spain, although by a general of our own: for joy of which, our junto had a merry meeting at the house of their great proselyte, on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more such blows would perhaps set us right again; and then we can employ mortality as well as others. He concludes with wishing, that three letters, spoken when the prolocutor was presented, were made publick. I suppose he would be content with one; and that is more than we shall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have grace, without either eloquence or Latin; which is all I shall say to this malicious innuendo.

Having thus, I hope, given a full and satisfactory answer to the Examiner's last paper, I shall now go on to a more important affair, which is, to prove, by several undeniable instances, that the late ministry and their abettors were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confess, a secret

secret to the clergy wherein this friendship did consist. For information therefore of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to display our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wish, that what I am to say were to be written in brass, for an eternal memorial; the rather, because for the future the church may endeavour to stand unsupported by those patrons, who expired in doing it their last good office, and will never rise to preserve it any more.

Let us therefore produce the pious endeavours of these church defenders, who were its patrons, by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it, by their exemplary lives.

First, St. Paul tells us, there must be heresies in the church, that the truth may be manifest; and therefore, by due course of reasoning, the more heresies there are, the more manifest will the truth be made. This being maturely considered by these lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many heresies as they could, that the light of truth might shine the clearer.

Secondly, To shew their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it entirely out of the hands of God Almighty, (because that was a foreign jurisdiction) and made it their own creature, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their orders to Tindal, and others, to give publick notice of it.

Thirdly, Because charity is the most celebrated of all christian virtues, therefore they extended theirs beyond all bounds; and instead of shutting

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the church against dissenters, were ready to open it to all comers, and break down its walls, rather than that any should want room to enter. The strength of a state, we know, consists in the number of people, how different soever in their callings; and why should not the strength of a church consist in the same, how different soever in their creeds? For that reason, they charitably attempted to abolish the test, which tied up so many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church.

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to us as a crime by several malignant tories; and denied as a slander, by many unthinking people among ourselves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to ask such questions as these? Was your test repealed? had we not a majority? might we not have done it, if we pleased? To which the others answer, you did what you could: you prepared the way, but you found a fatal impediment from that quarter whence the sanction of the law must come; and therefore, to save your credit, you condemned a paper to be burnt, which yourselves had brought in. But alas! the miscarriage of that noble project for the safety of the church, had another original; the knowledge whereof depends upon a piece of secret history, which I shall now lay open.

These church-protectors had directed a presbyterian preacher to draw up a bill for repealing the test. It was accordingly done with great art; and in the preamble several expressions of civility to the established church; and when it came to the qualifications of all those who were to enter on any

any office, the compiler had taken special care to make them large enough for all christians whatsoever, by transcribing the very words (only formed into an oath) which quakers are obliged to profess by a former act of parliament; as I shall here set them down: "I, A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration." This bill was carried to the chief leaders, for their approbation, with these terrible words turned into an oath: What should they do? Those few among them, who fancied they believed in God, were sure they did not believe in Christ, or the Holy Spirit, or one syllable of the Bible; and they were as sure that every body knew their opinion in those matters, which indeed they had been always too sincere to disguise; how therefore could they take such an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with Tindal, Toland, Coward, Collins, Clendon, and all the tribe of freethinkers, and so give a scandal to weak unbelievers? Upon this nice point of honour and conscience, the matter was hushed, the project for repealing the test let fall, and the sacrament left as the smaller evil of the two.

Fourthly, These pillars of the church, because the harvest was great, and the labourers few, and because they would ease the bishops from the grievous trouble of laying on hands, were willing to allow that power to all men whatsoever, to prevent that terrible consequence of unchurching those, who

who thought a hand from under a cloak as effectual as from lawn sleeves. And indeed what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general naturalization for priesthood?

Fifthly, In order to fix religion in the minds of men, because truth never appears so fair as when confronted with falsehood, they directed books to be published, that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the Second and Third Person, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the soul. To this we owe that great sense of religion, that respect and kindness of the clergy, and that true love of virtue, so manifest of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could any thing be more discreet, than to leave the merits of each cause to such wise, impartial judges; who might otherwise fall under the slavery of believing, by education and prejudice.

Sixthly, Because nothing so much distracts the thoughts, as too great a variety of subjects, therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to prescribe the clergy what subjects they should preach upon, and in what manner, that they might be at no loss; and this no doubt was a proper work for such hands, so thoroughly versed in the theory and practice of all Christian duties.

Seventhly, To save trouble and expense to the clergy, they contrived that convocations should meet as seldom as possible; and when they were suffered to assemble, would never allow them to meddle with any business; because, they said, the office of a clergyman was enough to take up the whole man. For the same reason they were very desirous

desirous to excuse the bishops from sitting in parliament, that they might be at more leisure to stay at home, and look after the inferior clergy.

I shall mention at present but one more instance of their pious zeal for the church. They had somewhere heard the maxim, that *Sanguis martyrum est semen ecclesiæ;* therefore, in order to sow this seed, they began with impeaching a clergyman: and that it might be a true martyrdom in every circumstance, they proceeded as much as possible against common law: which the long-robe part of the managers knew was in a hundred instances directly contrary to all their positions, and were sufficiently warned of it beforehand; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a sudden; for a certain great person, (whose character has been lately published by some stupid and lying writer) who very much distinguished himself by his zeal in forwarding this impeachment, had several years ago endeavoured to persuade the late king to give way to just such another attempt. He told his majesty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous sermons, and that the only way to put a stop to such insolence was, to impeach him in parliament. The king inquired the character of the man: O sir, said my lord, the most violent, hot, positive fellow in England; so extremely wilful, that I believe he would be heartily glad to be a martyr. The king answered, Is it so? then I am resolved to disappoint him; and would never hear more of the matter; by which that hopeful project unhappily miscarried.

I have hitherto confined myself to those endeavours for the good of the church, which were common to all the leaders and principal men of our party; but, if my paper were not drawing toward an end, I could produce several instances of particular persons, who, by their exemplary lives and actions, have confirmed the character so justly due to the whole body. I shall at present mention only two, and illustrate the merits of each by a matter of fact.

That worthy patriot and true lover of the church, whom a late Examiner is supposed to reflect on under the name of *Verres*, felt a pious impulse to be a benefactor to the cathedral of Gloucester; but how to do it in the most decent, generous manner, was the question. At last he thought of an expedient: one morning, or night, he stole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and there did that, which, in cleanly phrase, is called *disburdening of nature*. He was discovered, prosecuted, and condemned to pay a thousand pounds; which sum was all employed to support the church, as no doubt the benefactor meant it.

There is another person, whom the same writer is thought to point at under the name of Will Bigamy. This gentleman, knowing that marriage fees were a considerable perquisite to the clergy, found out a way of improving them cent. per cent. for the good of the church. His invention was to marry a second wife, while the first was alive, convincing her of the lawfulness, by such arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the same example. These he had drawn up

up in writing, with an intention to publish for the general good: and it is hoped, he may now have leisure to finish them.

NUMBER XXIV.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1710-11.

Bellum ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi Pax quæsita videatur.

War should be undertaken only with a view to procure a solid and lasting peace.

I AM satisfied, that no reasonable man of either party can justly be offended at any thing I said in one of my papers relating to the army. From the maxims I there laid down, perhaps many persons may conclude, that I had a mind the world should think there had been occasion given by some late abuses among men of that calling; and they conclude right: for my intention is, that my hints may be understood, and my quotations and allegories applied; and I am in some pain to think, that in the Orcades on one side, and the western coasts of Ireland on the other, the Examiner may want a key in several parts, which I wish I could furnish them with. As to the French king, I am under no concern at all: I hear he has left off reading my papers, and, by what he has found in them, dislikes our proceedings more than ever;

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and intends, either to make great additions to his armies, or propose new terms for a peace. So false is that which is commonly reported, of his mighty satisfaction in our change of ministry. And I think it clear, that his late letter of thanks to the tories of Great Britain, must either have been extorted from him, against his judgment; or was a cast of his politicks, to set the people against the present ministry; wherein it has wonderfully succeeded.

But though I have never heard, or never regarded, any objections made against that paper, which mentions the army; yet I intended this as a sort of apology for it. And first I declare (because we live in a mistaken world) that at hinting at some proceedings, wherein a few persons are said to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the body of the army. I have too much detested that barbarous injustice among the writers of a late party to be ever guilty of it myself; I mean, the accusing of societies for the crimes of a few. On the other side, I must take leave to believe, that armies are no more exempt from corruptions, than other numbers of men. The maxims proposed were occasionally introduced by the report of certain facts, which I am bound to believe are true, because I am sure, considering what has passed, it would be a crime to think otherwise. All posts in the army, all employments at court, and many others, are, or ought to be, given and resumed at the mere pleasure of the prince; yet, when I see a great officer broke, a change made in the court, or the ministry, and this under the most just and gracious princess

princess that ever reigned, I must naturally conclude, it is done upon prudent considerations, and for some great demerit in the sufferers. But then, is not the punishment sufficient? Is it generous or charitable, to trample on the unfortunate, and expose their faults to the world in the strongest colours? And would it not suit better with magnanimity, as well as common good nature, to leave them at quiet to their own thoughts and repentance? Yes, without question; provided it could not be so contrived, that their very names, as well as actions, might be forgotten for ever: such an act of oblivion would be for the honour of the nation, and beget a better opinion of us with posterity; and then I might have spared the world and myself the trouble of examining. But at present there is a cruel dilemma in the case; the friends and abettors of the late ministry are every day publishing their praises to the world, and casting reflections upon the present persons in power. This is so barefaced an aspersion upon the queen, that I know not how any good subject can with patience endure it, although he were ever so indifferent with regard to the opinions in dispute. Shall they, who have lost all power and love of the people, be allowed to scatter their poison? and shall not those, who are at least of the strongest side, be suffered to bring an antidote? And how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them see, that these discarded statesmen were justly laid aside; and producing as many instances to prove it as we can; not from any personal hatred to them, but in justification to the best of queens.

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The many scurrilities I have heard and read against this poor paper of mine, are in such a strain, that, considering the present state of affairs, they look like a jest. They usually run after the following manner: "What! shall this insolent writer presume to censure the late ministry, the ablest, the most faithful, and truest lovers of their country and its constitution, that ever served a prince? Shall he reflect on the best house of commons that ever sat within those walls? Has not the queen changed both, for a ministry and parliament of jacobites and highfliers, who are selling us to France, and bringing over the pretender?" This is the very sum and force of all their reasonings, and this is their method of complaining against the Examiner. In them, it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the queen, and the ministry and parliament she has chosen with the universal applause of her people: in us, it is insolent to defend her majesty and her choice, or to answer their objections, by showing the reasons why those changes were necessary.

The same style has been used in the late case concerning some gentlemen in the army. Such a clamour was raised by a set of men, who had the boldness to tax the administration with cruelty and injustice, that I thought it necessary to interfere a little, by showing the ill consequences that might arise from some proceedings, although without application to particular persons. And what do they offer in answer? Nothing but a few poor common places against calumny and informers; which might have been full as just and seasonable

sonable in a plot against the sacred person of the queen.

But by the way, why are these idle people so indiscreet to name those two words, which afford occasion of laying open to the world such an infamous scene of subornation and perjury, as well as calumny and informing, as, I believe, is without example; when a whole cabal attempted an action, wherein a condemned criminal* refused to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I disapprove their sagacity, who could foretel so long before by what hand they should one day fall, and therefore thought any means justifiable, by which they might prevent it.

But, waving this at present, it must be owned, in justice to the army, that those violences did not proceed so far among them as some have believed; nor ought the madness of a few to be laid at their doors. For the rest, I am so far from denying the due praises to those brave troops, who did their part in procuring so many victories for the allies; that I could wish every officer and private soldier had their full share of honour in proportion to their deserts; being thus far of the Athenians mind, who, when it was proposed that the statue of Miltiades should be set up alone in some publick place of the city, said, "they would agree to it, whenever he conquered alone, but not before." Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late ministry before the present; or, if wishing alone could be of any use, for wishing

* Gregg. H.

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their continuance, because then they might be secure of the war's continuance too: whereas, since affairs have been put into other hands, they may perhaps lie under some apprehensions of a peace; which no army, especially in the course of success, was ever inclined to; and which all wise states have in such a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point, wherein the civil and military politicks have always disagreed: and for that reason I affirmed it necessary, in all free governments, that the latter should be absolutely in subjection to the former; otherwise one of these two inconveniences must arise, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the civil institution into a military.

I am ready to allow all that has been said of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great successes abroad; nor is it their fault that those important victories had no better consequences at home, though it may be their advantage. War is their trade and business: to improve and cultivate the advantages of success, is an affair of the cabinet; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakness or corruption, according to the usual uncertainty of wars, may be of the most fatal consequence to a nation. For, pray let me represent our condition in such a light, as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the consequences I shall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years blessed with a queen, who, beside all virtues that can enter into the composition of a private person, possesses every regal quality that can contribute to make a people

ple happy: of great wisdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counsellors; of much discernment in choosing proper instruments, when she follows her own judgment; and only capable of being deceived by that excess of goodness, which makes her judge of others by herself; frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the publick, which in proportion she does, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her subjects; but from her own nature generous and charitable to all, who want or deserve; and, in order to exercise those virtues, denying herself all entertainments of expense, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at least in Flanders, our arms have been crowned with perpetual success in battles and sieges; not to mention several fortunate actions in Spain. These facts being thus stated, which none can deny; it is natural to ask, how we have improved such advantages, and to what account they have turned? I shall use no discouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worse by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the best physicians, before the case grows desperate. But I would ask, whether France, or any other kingdom, would have made so little use of such prodigious opportunities? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extremest degree of folly and corruption; and where those have lain, let the world judge. Instead of aiming at peace, while we had the advantage of the war, which has been the perpetual maxim of all wise states, it has been reckoned factious and malignant even to express our wishes for it; and such

such a condition imposed, as was never offered to any prince, who had an inch of ground to dispute; *quæ enim est conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest?*

It is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who sat at home, and were called to consult upon the good of the kingdom, to be so utterly averse from putting an end to a long, expensive war, which the victorious, all well as conquered side, were heartily weary of*. Few, or none of them, were men of the sword; they had no share in the honour; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew by what tenure they held their power; that the queen saw through their designs; that they had entirely lost the hearts of the clergy; that the landed men were against them; that they were detested by the body of the people; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank, and other stocks, which would be neither formidable nor necessary, when the war was at an end. For these reasons they resolved to disappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party should be so deeply rooted, as to make it impossible to shake them. To this end they began to precipitate matters so fast, as in a little time must have ruined the constitution, if the crown had not interposed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than such dreadful consequences of their power. And in-

* Instances of this faulty manner of ending sentences with a preposition abound every where in most of our best writers. How much better would the sentence close thus—'of which the victorious, as well as the conquered side, was heartily weary.' S.

deed

deed if the former danger had been greater than some hoped or feared, I see no difficulty in the choice, which was the same with his, who said, he would rather be devoured by wolves than by rats. I therefore still insist, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with, the army for concurring with the ministry, which was for prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in those who have not yet made their fortunes; and as lawful in the rest, as love of power, or love of money, can make it. But, as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under check of the civil power; or when a corrupt ministry joins in giving it too great a scope, the consequence can be nothing less than infallible ruin and slavery to the state.

After I had finished this paper, the printer sent me two small pamphlets, called "The Management of the War;" written with some plausibility, much artifice, and abundance of misrepresentations, as well as direct falsehoods in point of fact. These I have thought worth examining, which I shall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.

NUMBER

NUMBER XXV.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1710-11.

Parva momenta in spem metumque impellunt animos.

The meerest trifles influence the human mind, and impel it to hope or fear.

HOPES are natural to most men, especially to sanguine complexions; and among the various changes that happen in the course of public affairs, they are seldom without some grounds. Even in desperate cases, where it is impossible they should have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have some resource, which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for several months past the condition of those people, whom I am forced, for want of other phrases, to call the ruined party. They have taken up, since their fall, some real, and some pretended hopes. When the earl of Sunderland was discarded, they hoped her majesty would proceed no farther in the change of her ministry; and had the insolence to misrepresent her words to foreign states. They hoped, nobody durst advise the dissolution of the parliament. When this was done, and farther alterations made in court, they hoped, and endeavoured to ruin the credit of the nation. They likewise hoped, that we should have some terrible loss abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and

and begin again upon their bottom. But, of all their hopes, whether real or assumed, there is none more extraordinary than that in which they now would seem to place their whole confidence: that this great turn of affairs was only occasioned by a short madness of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are open, and they grow cool and sober enough to consider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that some few of the deepest sighted among these reasoners are well enough convinced how vain all such hopes must be: but for the rest, the wisest of them seem to have been very ill judges of the people's dispositions; the want of which knowledge was a principle occasion to hasten their ruin; for surely, had they suspected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run against it by that impeachment. I therefore conclude, they generally are so blind as to imagine some comfort from this fantastical opinion; that the people of England are at present distracted, but will shortly come to their senses again.

For the service therefore of our adversaries and friends, I shall briefly examine this point, by showing what are the causes and symptoms of a people's madness; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is Machiavel's observation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do seldom mistake their true interests: and indeed they naturally love the constitution they are born under; never desiring to change, but under great oppressions. However, they are to be deceived by several

veral means. It has often happened in Greece, and sometimes in Rome, that those very men who have contributed to shake off a former tyranny, have, instead of restoring the old constitution, deluded the people into a worse and more ignominious slavery. Besides, all great changes have the same effects upon commonwealths, that thunder has upon liquors, making the dregs fly up to the top; the lowest plebeians rise to the head of affairs, and there preserve themselves, by representing the nobles, and other friends to the old government, as enemies to the publick. The encouraging of new mysteries and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, has likewise been a frequent topick to mislead the people. And not to mention more, the promoting false reports of dangers from abroad, has often served to prevent them from fencing against real dangers at home. By these and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak or corrupt administration, the madness of the people has risen to such a height, as to break in pieces the whole frame of the best instituted governments. But however, such great frenzies, being artificially raised, are a perfect force and constraint upon human nature; and under a wise steady prince, will certainly decline of themselves, settling like the sea after a storm; and then the true bent and genius of the people will appear. Ancient and modern story are full of instances to illustrate what I say.

In our own island we had a great example of a long madness in the people, kept up by a thousand artifices, like intoxicating medicines, until the constitution

constitution was destroyed; yet the malignity being spent, and the humour exhausted that served to foment it, before the usurpers could fix upon a new scheme, the people suddenly recovered, and peaceably restored the old constitution.

From what I have offered, it will be easy to decide, whether this late change in the disposition of the people was a new madness, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I see how it can be proved, that such a change had, in any circumstance, the least symptoms of madness, whether my description of it be right or not. It is agreed, that the truest way of judging the disposition of the people in the choice of their representatives, is, by computing the county elections; and in these it is manifest, that five in six are entirely for the present measures; although the court was so far from interposing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenancy, nor any other methods used to influence elections. The free, unextorted addresses, sent some time before from every part of the kingdom, plainly showed, what sort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members for this great city, carried, contrary to all conjecture, against the united interest of those two great bodies, the Bank and East India company, was another convincing argument. Besides, the whigs themselves have always confessed, that the bulk of landed men in England was generally of tories. So that this change must be allowed to be according to the natural genius and disposition of the people: whether it were just and reasonable in itself, or not.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding all which, you shall frequently hear the partisans of the late men in power, gravely and decisively pronounce, that the present ministry cannot possibly stand. Now they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the last being so far established and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honest men will be able to restore things to their former state. Or else these reasoners have been so misled by twenty years mismanagement, that they have forgot our constitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiser; and by the choice they have made, show they do understand our constitution, and would bring it back to the old form; which if the new ministers take care to maintain, they will and ought to stand; otherwise they may fall like their predecessors. But I think, we may easily foresee what a parliament, freely chosen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do, when no man should be in any danger to lose his place by the freedom of his voice.

But, who are the advancers of this opinion, that the present ministry cannot hold? It must be either such as are afraid to be called to an account in case it should hold; or those who keep offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed, and may reasonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places; since perhaps it will be necessary to make some changes that the public business of the nation may go on: or lastly, stockjobbers, who industriously spread such

such reports, that actions may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

Yet these hopes, thus freely expressed, as they are more sincere, so they are more supportable, than when they appear under the disguise and pretence of fears. Some of these gentlemen are employed to shake their heads in proper companies; to doubt where all this will end; to be in mighty pain for the nation; to show how impossible it is, that the public credit can be supported; to pray that all may do well, in whatever hands; but very much to doubt, that the pretender is at the bottom. I know not any thing so nearly resembling this behaviour, as what I have often seen among the friends of a sick man, whose interest it is that he should die. The physicians protest they see no danger, the symptoms are good, the medicines answer expectation; yet still they are not to be comforted; they whisper, he is a gone man, it is not possible he should hold out: he has perfect death in his face; they never liked his doctor. At last, the patient recovers, and their joy is as false as their grief.

I believe there is no man so sanguine, who did not apprehend some ill consequences from the late change; though not in any proportion to the good ones: but it is manifest, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected, either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Those remedies, that stir the humours in a diseased body, are at first more painful than the malady itself; yet certain death is the consequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the

loans are said to come in slowly. But beside that something of this must have been, whether there had been any change or not; beside that the surprise of every change, for the better as well as the worse, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reason, which is plain, and scandalous. When the late party was at the helm, those who were called the tories, never put their resentments in balance with the safety of the nation; but cheerfully contributed to the common cause: now the scene is changed, the fallen party seems to act from very different motives; they have given the word about: they will keep their money, and be passive: and, in this point, stand upon the same foot with papists and nonjurors. What would have become of the publick, if the present great majority had acted thus during the late administration, before the others were masters of that wealth they have squeezed out of the landed men, and with the strength of which they would now hold the kingdom at defiance?

Thus much I have thought fit to say, without pointing reflections upon any particular person, which I have hitherto but sparingly done, and that only toward those whose characters are too profligate, for the managing of them to be of any consequence. Besides, as it is a talent I am not naturally fond of, so, in the subjects I treat, it is generally needless. If I display the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of gross immorality and irreligion; those who are the least conversant in things, will easily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of such who charge me with this

this proceeding: it is notorious enough, that the writers of the other side were the first aggressors. Not to mention their scurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled at particular persons; how many papers do now come out every week, full of rude invectives against the present ministry, with the first and last letters of their names to prevent mistakes! It is good sometimes to let these people see, that we neither want spirit nor materials to retaliate; and therefore, in this point alone, I shall follow their example, whenever I find myself sufficiently provoked; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring, either general or particular, shall be religiously true, founded either upon avowed facts which none can deny, or such as I can prove from my own knowledge.

Being resolved publickly to confess any mistakes I have been guilty of, I do hereby humbly desire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers said to be done in the cathedral of Gloucester. A whole Hydra of errours, in two words! For, as I am since informed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of Gloucester, but some other church of that diocese. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, although from the meanest hands, I should certainly have answered it.

NUMBER XXVI.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 25, 1710-11.

Διαλεξάμενοί τινα ἠσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σῦμπαν ἐπί τι τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ καθὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν.

Summissa quædam voce collocuti sunt, quorum summa erat de dominatione sibi confirmanda, ac inimicis delendis, conjuratio.

They meet, they whisper together, and their whole design is to establish themselves in their ill-gotten power upon the ruin of their enemies.

NOT many days ago I observed a knot of discontented gentlemen, cursing the tories to Hell for their uncharitableness in affirming, that if the late ministry had continued to this time we should have had neither church nor monarchy left. They are usually so candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-house, or over a bottle, from some warm young people, whom it is odds but they have provoked to say more than they believed, by some positions as absurd and ridiculous of their own. And so it proved in this very instance: for, asking one of these gentlemen what it was that provoked those he had been disputing with to advance such a paradox; he assured me, in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world but that himself, and some others of the company, had made it appear, that the design of the present parliament and ministry was, to bring in popery,

popery, arbitrary power, and the pretender: which I take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the whigs: because I defy our adversaries to produce one single reason for suspecting such designs in the persons now at the helm; whereas I can, upon demand, produce twenty to show, that some late men had strong views toward a commonwealth, and the alteration of the church.

It is natural indeed, when a storm is over, that has only untiled our houses, and blown down some of our chimnies, to consider what farther mischiefs might have ensued, if it had lasted longer. However, in the present case, I am not of the opinion above mentioned. I believe the church and state might have lasted somewhat longer, although the late enemies to both had done their worst. I can hardly conceive, how things would have been so soon ripe for a new revolution. I am convinced that if they had offered to make such large and sudden strides, it must have come to blows; and according to the computation we have now reason to think a right one, I can partly guess what would have been the issue. Besides, we are sure the queen would have interposed, before they came to extremities; and as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career.

But instead of this question, What would have been the consequence, if the late ministry had continued? I will propose another which will be more useful for us to consider; and that is,

What

What may we reasonably expect they will do, if ever they come into power again? This, we know, is the design and endeavour of all those scribbles which daily fly about in their favour; of all the false, insolent, and scandalous libels against the present administration; and of all those engines, set at work to sink the actions and blow up the publick credit. As for those who show their inclinations by writing, there is one consideration, which I wonder does not sometimes affect them: for, how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleness and innocence of those, who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an insolent, pragmatical orator somewhere in Greece, who, railing with great freedom at the chief men in the state, was answered by one, who had been very instumental in recovering the liberty of the city, that he thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the condition he always wished them in, when every man in that city might securely say what he pleased. I wish these gentlemen would however compare the liberty they take, with what their masters used to give; how many messengers and warrants would have gone out against any who durst have opened their lips, or drawn their pens against the persons and proceedings of their juntoes and cabals? How would their weekly writers have been calling out for prosecution and punishment? We remember, when a poor nickname * borrowed from an old play of Ben Jonson,

* *Volpone*, used by Sacheverell, and supposed to be the lord treasurer Godolphin. N.

and

and mentioned in a sermon without any particular application, was made use of as a motive to spur on an impeachment. But after all it must be confessed, they had reasons to be thus severe, which their successors have not: their faults would never endure the light; and to have exposed them sooner, would have raised the kingdom against the actors before the proper time.

But, to come to the subject I have now undertaken, which is, to examine what the consequences would be, upon supposition that the whigs were now restored to their power. I already imagine the present free parliament dissolved, and another of a different epithet met, by the force of money and management. I read immediately a dozen or two of stinging votes against the proceedings of the late ministry. The bill * now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birthright of an Englishman reduced again to the value of twelve-pence. But, to give the reader a strong imagination of such a scene, let me represent the designs of some men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

"Ordered, That a bill be brought in for repealing the sacramental test.

"A petition of Tindal, Collins, Clendon, Coward, and Toland, in behalf of themselves and many hundreds of their disciples, some of whom are members of this honourable house? desiring that leave may be given to bring in a bill for qualifying atheists, deists, and socinians to serve their

* A bill for a general naturalization. N.

country

country in any employment ecclesiastical, civil, or military.

"Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a bill, according to the prayer of the said petition; and that Mr. Lechmere* do prepare and bring in the same.

"Ordered, That a bill be brought in for removing the education of youth out of the hands of the clergy.

"Another to forbid the clergy preaching certain duties in religion; especially obedience to princes.

"Another to take away the jurisdiction of bishops.

"Another for constituting a general for life; with instructions to the committee, that care may be taken to make the war last as long as the life of the said general.

"A bill of attainder against *Charles Duke of Shrewsbury*†, John duke of Buckingham, Laurence earl of Rochester, sir Simon Harcourt, knight, Robert Harley and William Shippen, esquires, Abigail Masham, spinster, and others, for high treason against the junto.

"Resolved, That Sarah duchess of Marlborough has been a most dutiful, just, and grateful servant to her majesty.

"Resolved, That to advise the dissolution of a whig parliament, or the removal of a whig ministry, was in order to bring in popery and the

* Mr. Lechmere was one of the managers against Dr. Sacheverell, and summed up the evidence. N.

† Altered afterwards to James duke of Ormond. N.

pretender;

pretender; and that the said advice was high treason.

"Resolved, That by the original compact, the government of this realm is by a junto, and a king, or queen; but the administration solely in the junto.

"Ordered, That a bill be brought in for farther limiting the prerogative.

"Ordered, That it be a standing order of this house, that the merit of elections be not determined by the number of voices, or right of electors, but by weight; and that one whig shall weigh down ten tories.

"A motion being made, and the question being put, that when a whig is detected of manifest bribery, and his competitor, being a tory, has ten to one a majority, there shall be a new election; it passed in the negative.

"Resolved, That for a king, or queen of this realm, to read, or examine, a paper brought them to be signed by a junto minister, is arbitrary and illegal, and a violation of the liberties of the people.

These and the like reformations, would in all probability be the first fruits of the whigs resurrection; and what structures such able artists might in a short time build upon such foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a peace cut off; the nation industriously involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but those whose interest lay in ruining the constitution; I do not see how the wisest prince, under such necessities, could not be able to extricate himself.

himself. Then as to the church: the bishops would by degrees be dismissed, first from the parliament, next from their revenues, and at last from their office; and the clergy, instead of their idle claim of independency on the state, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what system of future government was designed; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I shall not now examine. Only upon this occasion I cannot help reflecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myself. There was a picture drawn some time ago, representing five persons, as large as the life, sitting in council together, like a pentarchy; a void space was left for the sixth, which was to have been the queen, to whom they intended that honour; but her majesty having since fallen under their displeasure, they have made a shift to crowd in two better friends in her place, which makes it a complete Heptarchy*. This piece is now in the country, reserved until better times: and hangs in the hall among the pictures of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and some other predecessors.

I must now desire leave to say something to a gentleman who has been pleased to publish a discourse against a paper of mine, relating to the convocation. He promises to set me right without any undue reflections, or indecent language. I suppose he means in comparison with others

* This Heptarchy was the serpent with seven heads, mentioned No. 22, 23. N.

who

who pretend to answer the Examiner. So far he is right; but if he thinks he has behaved himself as becomes a candid antagonist, I believe he is mistaken. He says in his title page, my representations are unfair, and my reflections unjust: and his conclusion is yet more severe; where he doubts I and my friends are enraged against the Dutch, because they preserved us from popery and arbitrary power at the Revolution; and since that time from being overrun by the exorbitant power of France, and becoming a prey to the pretender. Because this author seems in general to write with an honest meaning; I would seriously put to him the question, whether he thinks, I and my friends are for popery, arbitrary power, France, and the pretender? I omit other instances of smaller moment, which however do not suit in my opinion with due reflection, or decent language. The fact relating to the convocation came from a good hand; and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumstance about it. My reflections were no more than what might be obvious to any other gentleman, who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be right, which this author gives us of a lower house of convocation, it is a very melancholy one; and to me seems utterly inconsistent with that of a body of men, whom he owns to have a negative: and therefore, since a great majority of the clergy differs from him in several points he advances, I shall rather choose to be of their opinion than his. I fancy when the whole synod met in one house, as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their bishops;

bishops; and therefore, whether this treatment, so extremely *de haut en bas*, since their exclusion be suitable to primitive custom or primitive humility, toward brethren, is not my business to inquire. One may allow the divine or apostolick right of episcopacy, and its great superiority over presbyters; and yet dispute the methods of exercising the latter, which being of human institution, are subject to encroachments and usurpations. I know, every clergyman in a diocese has a great deal of dependence upon his bishop, and owes his canonical obedience; but I was apt to think, that when the whole representative of the clergy met in a synod, they were considered in another light; at least since they are allowed to have a negative. If I am mistaken, I desire to be excused, as talking out of my trade; only there is one thing, wherein I entirely differ from this author: since, in the disputes about privileges, one side must recede; where so very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the encroachments are not on the inferior clergy's side; and no man can blame them for insisting on the small number that is left. There is one fact, wherein I must take occasion to set this author right: that the person, who first moved the queen to remit the first fruits and tenths to the clergy*, was an eminent instrument in the late turn of affairs; and, I am told, has lately prevailed to have the same favour granted for the clergy of Ireland†.

* Earl of Oxford, lord treasurer. N.

† This was done by the author's solicitation. See the Journal to Stella. N.

But

But I must beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controversy; which would be of very little import to most readers, and only mispend time, that I would gladly employ to better purposes. For where it is a man's business to entertain a whole room full, it is unmannerly to apply himself to a particular person, and turn his back upon the rest of the company.

NUMBER XXVII.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1710-11.

Ea autem est gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum optimi cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis, testimonio comprobatur.

That is real honour and true praise for glorious actions to a meritorious state, when they gain the commendation and esteem of the great, and, at the same time, the love and approbation of the common people.

I AM thinking what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a ruined cause. I remember a fanatic preacher, who was inclined to come into the church, and take orders; but upon mature thoughts, was diverted from that design, when he considered, that the collections of the godly were a much heartier and readier penny than he could get by wrangling for tithes.

He

He certainly had reason; and the two cases are parallel. If you write in defence of a fallen party, you are maintained by contribution, as a necessary person: you have little more to do than carp and cavil at those who hold the pen on the other side; you are sure to be celebrated and caressed by all your party, to a man; you may affirm and deny what you please without truth or probability, since it is but loss of time to contradict you. Besides, commiseration is often on your side; and you have a pretence to be thought honest and disinterested for adhering to friends in distress: after which, if your friends ever happen to turn up again, you have a strong fund of merit toward making your fortune. Then, you never fail to be well furnished with materials, every one bringing in his quota, and falsehood being naturally more plentiful than truth: not to mention the wonderful delight of libelling men in power, and hugging yourself in a corner with mighty satisfaction for what you have done.

It is quite otherwise with us, who engage as volunteers in the service of a flourishing ministry, in full credit with the queen, and beloved by the people; because they have no sinister ends or dangerous designs; but pursue with steadiness and resolution the true interest of both. Upon which account they little want or desire our assistance; and we may write till the world is weary of reading, without having our pretences allowed, either to a place or a pension: besides, we are refused the common benefit of the party, to have our works cried up of course: the readers of our own side being as ungentle, and hard to please,

as

as if we writ against them: and our papers never make their way in the world, but barely in proportion to their merit. The design of their labours who write on the conquered side, is likewise of greater importance than ours: they are like cordials for dying men, which must be repeated; whereas ours are, in the Scripture phrase, but meat for babes: at least, all I can pretend, is to undeceive the ignorant, and those at a distance; but their task is to keep up the sinking spirits of a whole party.

After such reflections, I cannot be angry with those gentlemen for perpetually writing against me; it furnishes them largely with topicks, and is besides their proper business: neither is it affectation, or altogether scorn, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act suitable* to our several provinces; mine is, by laying open some corruptions in the late management, to set those that are ignorant right in their opinions of persons and things: it is theirs, to cover with fig-leaves all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their office to deny, and disprove; and then let the world decide. If I were as they, my chief endeavour should certainly be to batter down the Examiner; therefore I cannot but approve their design. Besides, they have another reason for barking incessantly at this paper: they have in their prints openly taxed a

* We both act 'suitable to,' &c. It should be 'suitably to our several provinces.' S.

most

most ingenious person as author of it; one who is in great, and very deserved reputation with the world, both on account of his poetical works, and his talents for publick business. They were wise enough to consider what a sanction it would give their performances, to fall under the animadversion of such a pen: and therefore used all the forms of provocation commonly practised by little obscure pedants, who are fond of distinguishing themselves by the fame of an adversary. So nice a taste have these judicious criticks in pretending to discover an author by his style and manner of thinking! not to mention the justice and candour of exhausting all the stale topicks of scurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one who is entirely innocent; and whose greatest fault, perhaps, is too much gentleness toward a party, from whose leaders he has received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the ease and reputation of so deserving a gentleman, has at length forced me, much against my interest and inclination, to let these angry people know, who is not the author of the Examiner. For I observed the opinion began to spread; and I chose rather to sacrifice the honour I received by it, than let injudicious people entitle him to a performance, that perhaps he might have reason to be ashamed of: still faithfully promising never to disturb those worthy advocates; but suffer them in quiet to roar on at the Examiner, if they or their party find any ease in it; as physicians say there is to people in torment, such as men in the gout, or women in labour.

However,

However, I must acknowledge myself indebted to them for one hint, which I shall now pursue, although in a different manner. Since the fall of the late ministry, I have seen many papers filled with their encomiums; I conceive, in imitation of those who write the lives of famous men, where after their deaths immediately follow their characters. When I saw the poor virtues thus dealt at random, I thought the disposers had flung their names, like valentines, into a hat, to be drawn as fortune pleased, by the junto and their friends. There Crassus drew liberality and gratitude; Fulvia, humility and gentleness; Clodius, piety and justice; Gracchus, loyalty to his prince: Cinna, love of his country and constitution: and so of the rest. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often seen of late, the whole set of discarded statesmen, celebrated by their judicious hirelings, for those very qualities which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did these heroes put off and lock up their virtues, when they came into employment; and have they now resumed them, since their dismissions? If they wore them, I am sure it was under their greatness, and without ever once convincing the world of their visibility or influence.

But, why should not the present ministry find a pen to praise them as well as the last? This is what I shall now undertake; and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deserved so little. I have, without being called, served them half a year in quality of champion; and, by help of the queen, and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them

against a routed cabal of hated politicians, with a dozen of scribblers at their head: yet, so far have they been from rewarding me suitably to my deserts, that to this day they never so much as sent to the printer to inquire who I was; although I have known a time and ministry, where a person of half my merit and consideration, would have had fifty promises; and, in the mean time, a pension settled on him, whereof the first quarter should be honestly paid. Therefore my resentments shall so far prevail, that in praising those who are now at the head of affairs, I shall at the same time take notice of their defects.

Was any man more eminent in his profession than the present lord keeper *, or more distinguished by his eloquence and great abilities in the house of commons? and will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great station he now adorns? But then it must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the speculative, as well as practical part of polygamy; he knows not how to metamorphose a sober man into a lunatick; he is no freethinker in religion, nor has courage to be patron of an atheistical book, while he is guardian of the queen's conscience. Although, after all, to speak my private opinion, I cannot think these such mighty objections to his character as some would pretend.

The person who now presides at the council †, is descended from a great and honourable father,

* Sir Simon Harcourt, afterward lord Harcourt, was made lord keeper upon the resignation of the lord chancellor Cowper. N.

† Laurence Hyde, late earl of Rochester, in the room of lord Somers. N.

not

not from the dregs of the people; he was at the head of the treasury for some years, and rather chose to enrich his prince than himself. In the height of favour and credit, he sacrificed the greatest employment in the kingdom to his conscience and honour; he has been always firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for supporting the prerogative of the crown, and preserving the liberties of the people. But then his best friends must own, that he is neither deist nor socinian; he has never conversed with Toland, to open and enlarge his thoughts, and dispel the prejudices of education; nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, to ruin and imprison the husband, in order to keep the wife without disturbance.

The present lord steward * has been always distinguished for his wit and knowledge; is of consummate wisdom and experience in affairs; has continued constant to the true interests of the nation which he espoused from the beginning; and is every way qualified to support the dignity of his office: but in point of oratory, must give place to his predecessor.

The duke of Shrewsbury † was highly instrumental in bringing about the Revolution, in which service he freely exposed his life and fortune. He

* John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham and Normandy, in the room of the duke of Devonshire. He had been lord privy seal from April 2, 1702, till March 17, 1705. N.

† Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, lord chamberlain, in the room of the marquis of Kent, and afterward lord lieutenant of Ireland. N.

has ever been the favourite of the nation, being possessed of all the amiable qualities that can accomplish a great man; but, in the agreeableness and fragrancy of his person, and the profoundness of his politicks, must be allowed to fall very short of ——

Mr. Harley* had the honour of being chosen speaker successively to three parliaments. He was, the first, of late years, who ventured to restore the forgotten custom of treating his prince with duty and respect; easy and disengaged in private conversation, with such a weight of affairs upon his shoulders; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it; intrepid by nature, as well as by the consciousness of his own integrity; and a despiser of money; pursuing the true interest of his prince and country against all obstacles; sagacious to view into the remotest consequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him; a firm friend, and a placable enemy, sacrificing his justest resentments, not only to public good, but to common intercession and acknowledgment. Yet, with all these virtues, it must be granted, there is some mixture of human infirmity. His greatest admirers must confess his skill at cards and dice to be very low and superficial: in horseracing he is utterly ignorant; then, to save a few millions to the publick, he never regards how many worthy citizens he hinders from making up their plumb. And surely there is one

* Chancellor of the exchequer, on the removal of lord Godolphin. N.

thing

thing never to be forgiven him; that he delights to have his table filled with black coats, whom he uses as if they were gentlemen.

My lord Dartmouth * is a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour; of strict virtue and regularity in his life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his station have done the queen.

Omitting some others, I shall close this character of the present ministry with that of Mr. St. John †; who, from his youth applying those admirable talents of nature, and improvements of art, to publick business, grew eminent in court and parliament, at an age when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he has not yet procured himself a busy, important countenance; nor learned that profound part of wisdom, to be difficult of access. Besides, he has clearly mistaken the true use of books, which he has thumbed and spoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his shelves: not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back, better than a friend, by the face; although he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter.

* William Legge, earl of Dartmouth, succeeded the earl of Sunderland as secretary of state. H.

† Secretary of state in the room of Mr. Henry Boyle. H.

NUMBER XXVIII.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1710-11.

Caput est in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici, ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima suspicio.

In every employment, in every publick office, it is of the utmost importance to keep free from even the least suspicion of avarice.

THERE is no vice which mankind carries to such wild extremes, as that of avarice. Those two which seem to rival it in this point, are lust and ambition; but the former is checked by difficulties and diseases, destroys itself by its own pursuits, and usually declines with old age; and the latter requiring courage, conduct, and fortune in a high degree, and meeting with a thousand dangers and oppositions, succeeds too seldom in an age to fall under common observation. Or, avarice is perhaps the same passion with ambition; only placed in more ignoble and dastardly minds, by which the object is changed from power to money. Or it may be that one man pursues power in order to wealth; and another wealth in order to power; which last is the safer way, although longer about; and suiting with every period, as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

However it be, the extremes of this passion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree so absurd and ridiculous, that

if

if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly obtain belief. The stage, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very short in the representations of avarice; nor are there any extravagances in this kind, described by ancient or modern comedies, which are not outdone by a hundred instances, commonly told among ourselves.

I am ready to conclude hence, that a vice which keeps so firm a hold upon human nature, and governs it with so unlimited a tyranny, since it cannot wholly be eradicated, ought at least to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion, and never suffered to prey upon the publick; and should certainly be rejected as the most unqualifying circumstance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can possibly enter.

If the mischiefs of this vice in a publick station were confined to enriching only those particular persons employed, the evil would be more supportable: but it is usually quite otherwise. When a steward defrauds his lord, he must connive at the rest of the servants, while they are following the same practice in their several spheres: so that in some families you may observe a subordination of knaves, in a link downward to the very helper in the stables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the master could bear it without being undone; but it so happens, that for every shilling the servant gets by iniquity, the master loses twenty; the perquisites of servants being but small compositions for suffering shopkeepers to bring in what

bills

bills they please. It is exactly the same thing in a state: an avaricious man in office, is in confederacy with the whole clan of his district or dependance; which in modern terms of art, is called to live and let live; and yet their gains are the smallest part of the publick's loss. Give a guinea to a knavish land waiter, and he shall connive at the merchant for cheating the queen of a hundred. A brewer gives a bribe to have the privilege of selling drink to the navy; but the fraud is a hundred times greater than the bribe, and the publick is at the whole loss.

Moralists make two kinds of avarice; that of Catiline, *alieni appetens, sui profusus;* and the other more generally understood by that name, which is the endless desire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a state, because it mingles with ambition, which I think the latter cannot; for, although the same breast may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not in my opinion much to be apprehended from ambition. The disgrace of that sordid vice is sooner apt to spread than any other; and is always attended with the hatred and scorn of the people: so that whenever those two passions happen to meet in the same subject, it is not unlikely that Providence has placed avarice to be a check upon ambition; and I have reason to think, some great ministers of state have been of my opinion.

The divine authority of holy writ, the precepts of philosophers, the lashes and ridicule of satirical poets, have been all employed in exploding this insatiable

insatiable thirst of money; and all equally controlled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing new remains to be said upon the occasion; and if there did, I must remember my character, that I am an Examiner only, and not a Reformer.

However, in those cases where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the public welfare, such as a prime minister of state, or a great general of an army; methinks there should be some expedient contrived, to let them know impartially what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompassed with a crowd of depending flatterers, they are many degrees blinder to their own faults, than the common infirmities of human nature can plead in their excuse. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly lost, or returned with hatred: and whatever appears in publick against their prevailing vice goes for nothing; being either not applied, or passing only for libel and slander, proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have sometimes thought, that if I had lived at Rome in the time of the first triumvirate, I should have been tempted to write a letter, as from an unknown hand, to those three great men who had then usurped the sovereign power; wherein I would freely and sincerely tell each of them that fault which I conceived was most odious, and of worse consequence to the commonwealth. That to Crassus should have been sent to him after his conquest in Mesopotamia, and in the following terms:

"To Marcus Crassus, health.

"If you apply, as you ought, what I now write,

write, you will be more obliged to me than to all the world, hardly excepting your parents or your country. I intend to tell you without disguise or prejudice, the opinion which the world has entertained of you; and to let you see I write this without any sort of ill-will, you shall first hear the sentiments they have to your advantage. No man disputes the gracefulness of your person; you are allowed to have a good and clear understanding, cultivated by the knowledge of men and manners, although not by literature; you are no ill orator in the senate; you are said to excel in the art of bridling and subduing your anger, and stifling or concealing your resentments; you have been a most successful general, of long experience, great conduct, and much personal courage; you have gained many important victories for the commonwealth, and forced the strongest towns in Mesopotamia to surrender, for which frequent supplications have been decreed by the senate. Yet, with all these qualities, and this merit, give me leave to say, you are neither beloved by the patricians nor plebeians, at home, nor by the officers or private soldiers of your own army abroad. And do you know, Crassus, that this is owing to a fault of which you may cure yourself by one minute's reflection! What shall I say? You are the richest person in the commonwealth; you have no male child; your daughters are all married to wealthy patricians; you are far in the decline of life, and yet you are deeply stained with that odious and ignoble vice of covetousness. It is affirmed that you descend even to the meanest and most scandalous degrees of

of it; and while you possess so many millions, while you are daily acquiring so many more, you are solicitous how to save a single sesterce; of which a hundred ignominious instances are produced, and in all men's mouths. I will only mention that passage of the buskins*, which, after abundance of persuasion, you would hardly suffer to be cut from your legs, when they were so wet and cold, that to have kept them on would have endangered your life.

"Instead of using the common arguments to dissuade you from this weakness, I will endeavour to convince you, that you are really guilty of it; and leave the cure to your own good sense. For perhaps you are not yet persuaded that this is your crime; you have probably never yet been reproached for it to your face; and what you are now told comes from one unknown, and it may be from an enemy. You will allow yourself indeed to be prudent in the management of your fortune; you are not a prodigal, like Clodius, or Catiline; but surely that deserves not the name of avarice. I will inform you how to be convinced. Disguise your person, go among the common people in Rome, introduce discourses about yourself, inquire your own character: do the same in your camp; walk about it in the evening, hearken at every tent; and if you do not hear every mouth censuring, lamenting, cursing this vice in you, and even you for this vice, conclude yourself innocent. If you be not yet persuaded, send for Atticus, Servius Sulpicius,

* Wet Stockings. H.

Cato,

Cato, or Brutus; they are all your friends; conjure them to tell you ingenuously, which is your great fault, and which they would chiefly wish you to correct; if they do not agree in their verdict, in the name of all the gods you are acquitted.

"When your adversaries reflect how far you are gone in this vice, they are tempted to talk as if we owed our successes not to your courage or conduct, but to those veteran troops you command; who are able to conquer under any general, with so many brave and experienced officers to lead them. Besides we know the consequences your avarice has often occasioned. The soldier has been starving for bread, surrounded with plenty, and in an enemy's country; but all under safeguards and contributions; which, if you had sometimes pleased to have exchanged for provisions, might, at the expense of a few talents in a campaign, have so endeared you to the army, that they would have desired you to lead them to the utmost limits of Asia. But you rather chose to confine your conquests within the fruitful country of Mesopotamia, where plenty of money might be raised. How far that fatal greediness of gold may have influenced you, in breaking off the treaty with the old Parthian king Orodes, you best can tell; your enemies charge you with it; your friends offer nothing material in your defence; and all agree, there is nothing so pernicious which the extremes of avarice may not be able to inspire.

"Th-

"The moment you quit this vice, you will be a truly great man; and still there will imperfections enough remain to convince us you are not a god. Farewel."

Perhaps a letter of this nature, sent to so reasonable a man as Crassus, might have put him upon examining into himself, and correcting that little sordid appetite, so utterly inconsistent with all pretences to heroism. A youth in the heat of blood, may plead with some show of reason, that he is not able to subdue his lusts. An ambitious man may use the same arguments for his love of power; or perhaps other arguments to justify it. But excess of avarice has neither of these pleas to offer; it is not to be justified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuse. Whence can the temptation come? Reason disclaims it altogether; and it cannot be said to lodge in the blood or the animal spirits. So that I conclude, no man of true valour, and true understanding, upon whom this vice has stolen unawares, when he is convinced he is guilty, will suffer it to remain in his breast an hour.

NUMBER XXIX.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1710-11.

Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia?

Shall you Cotytto's feasts deride,
Yet safely triumph in your pride?

[An answer to the Letter to the Examiner.]

SIR, London, Feb. 15, 1710-11.

ALTHOUGH I have wanted leisure to acknowledge the honour of a letter you were pleased to write to me about six months ago; yet I have been very careful in obeying some of your commands, and am going on as fast as I can with the rest. I wish you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the printing-house: for although I was pleased with a pattern of style and spirit which I proposed to imitate, yet I was sorry the world should be a witness how far I fell short in both.

I am afraid you did not consider what an abundance of work you have cut out for me; neither am I at all comforted by the promise you are so kind to make, that when I have performed my task, D——n shall blush in his grave among the dead, Walpole among the living, and even Volpone shall feel some remorse. How the gentleman in his grave may have kept his countenance,

nance, I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the sexton; but for the other two, I take leave to assure you, there have not yet appeared the least signs of blushing or remorse in either, although some very good opportunities have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them; so that, with your permission, I would rather engage to continue this work until they be in their graves too: which I am sure will happen much sooner than the other.

You desire I would collect some of those indignities offered last year to her majesty. I am ready to oblige you; and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publish by itself in a large volume in folio, or scatter them here and there occasionally in my papers: although indeed I am sometimes thinking to stifle them altogether; because such a history will be apt to give foreigners a monstrous opinion of our country. But since it is your absolute opinion, that the world should be informed; I will, with the first occasion, pick out a few choice instances, and let them take their chance in the ensuing papers. I have likewise in my cabinet certain quires of paper, filled with facts of corruption, mismanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like; with an alphabetical table, to save trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be so well provided, when you consider the vast expense I am at. I feed weekly two or three wit-starved writers, who have no visible support; beside several others, who live upon my offals. In short, I am like a nurse who suckles twins

twins at one time; and has besides one or two whelps constantly to draw her breast.

I must needs confess (and it is with grief I speak it) that I have been the innocent cause of a great circulation of dulness: at the same time, I have often wondered how it has come to pass, that these industrious people, after poring so constantly upon the Examiner, a paper writ with plain sense and in a tolerable style, have made so little improvement. I am sure it would have fallen out quite otherwise with me: for, by what I have seen of their performances (and I am credibly informed they are all of a piece) if I had perused them until now, I should have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the same cause.

You, sir, perhaps will wonder, as most others do, what end these angry folks propose in writing perpetually against the Examiner: it is not to beget a better opinion of the late ministry, or with any hope to convince the world, that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate; they know all that to be lost labour, and yet their design is important enough: they would fain provoke me, by all sorts of methods within the length of their capacity, to answer their papers; which would render mine wholly useless to the publick: for, if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we should be all upon a level; and then their work would be done.

There is one gentleman* indeed, who has writ-

* Dr. Hare, afterward bishop of St. Asaph, 1727; of Chichester, 1731. N.

ten three small pamphlets upon the management of the war, and the treaty of peace. These I had intended to have bestowed a paper in examining; and could easily have made it appear, that whatever he says of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controuls one syllable of what I have ever advanced. Nobody, that I know of, did ever dispute the duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so, in spite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the weakness of his advocates. The nation only wishes to see him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late ministry, the shameful mismanagements in Spain, or the wrong steps in the treaty of peace: the secret of which will not bear the light, and is consequently by this author very poorly defended? These, and many other things, I would have shown; but, upon second thoughts, determined to have it done in a discourse by itself, rather than take up room here, and break into the design of this paper, whence I have resolved to banish controversy as much as possible. But the postscript to his third pamphlet was enough to disgust me from having any dealings at all with such a writer; unless that part was left to some footman he has picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whose character it would suit much better than that of the supposed author: at least, the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the gross perverting of an innocent expression in the fourth Examiner, joined to that re-

spect I shall ever have for the function of a devine, would incline me to believe so. But, when he turns off his footman, and disclaims that postscript, I will tear it out, and see how far the rest deserves to be considered.

But, sir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I should be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one side by the whigs, for being too severe; and by the tories on the other, for being gentle. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this; but, having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better represent my condition, or the opinion which the warm men of both sides have of my conduct, than to send you a transcript of each. The former is exactly in these words:

"Mr. EXAMINER,

"BY your continual reflecting upon the conduct of the late ministry, and by your encomiums on the present, it is as clear as the sun at noon day, that you are a jesuit, or nonjuror, employed by the friends of the pretender, to endeavour to introduce popery and slavery and arbitary power, and to infringe the sacred act for toleration of dissenters. Now, sir, since the most ingenious authors, who write weekly against you, are not able to teach you better manners, I would have you to know, that those great and excellent men, as low as you think them at present, do not want friends that will take the first proper occasion to cut your throat, as all such enemies to moderation ought to be served.

served. It is well you have cleared another person from being author of your cursed libels; although, d—n me, perhaps after all, that may be a bamboozle too. However, I hope we shall soon ferret you out. Therefore I advise you as a friend to let fall your pen, and retire betimes; for our patience is now at an end. It is enough to lose our power and employments, without setting the whole nation against us. Consider, three years is the life of a party; d—n me, every dog has his day, and it will be our turn next: therefore take warning, and learn to sleep in a whole skin; or, whenever we are uppermost, by G—d you shall find no mercy."

The other letter was inthe following terms:

"To the Examiner.

"SIR,

"I AM a country member, and constantly send a dozen of your papers down to my electors. I have read them all, but I confess, not with the satisfaction I expected. It is plain you know a great deal more than you write; why will you not let us have it all out? We are told that the queen has been a long time treated with insolence, by those she has most obliged. Pray, sir, let us have a few good stories upon that head. We have been cheated of several millions; why will you not set a mark on the knaves who are guilty, and show us what ways they took to rob the publick at such a rate? Inform us how we came to be disappointed of peace about two years ago. In short, turn the whole mystery of iniquity inside out, that every body may have a

view of it. But above all explain to us, what was the bottom of that same impeachment: I am sure I never liked it; for at that very time a dissenting preacher in our neighbourhood came often to see our parson; it could be for no good, for he would walk about the barns and the stables, and desired to look into the church, as who should say, These will shortly be mine: and we all believed, he was then contriving some alterations, against he got into possession. And I shall never forget that a whig justice offered me then very high for my bishop's lease. I must be so bold to tell you, sir, that you are too favourable: I am sure there was no living in quiet for us, while they were in the saddle. I was turned out of the commission, and called a jacobite, although it cost me a thousand pounds in joining with the prince of Orange at the Revolution. The discoveries I would have you make, are of some facts, for which they ought to be hanged; not that I value their heads, but I would see them exposed, which may be done upon the owner's shoulders as well as upon a pole," &c.

These, sir, are the sentiments of a whole party on one side, and of considerable numbers on the other: however, taking the *medium* betwee these extremes, I think to go on as I have hithe to done, although I am sensible my paper wou be more popular, if I did not lean too much the favourable side. For nothing delights people more, than to see their oppressors humb and all their actions painted with proper colc

set out in open view; *exactos tyrannos densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.*

But as for the whigs, I am in some doubt, whether this mighty concern they show for the honour of the late ministry, may not be affected; at least whether their masters will thank them for their zeal in such a cause. It is, I think, a known story of a gentleman, who fought another for calling him a son of a whore; that the lady desired her son to make no more quarrels upon the subject, because it was true. For pray, sir, does it not look like a jest, that such a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and discovering the most destructive designs against our church and state, instead of thanking fortune that they are got off safe in their persons and plunder, should hire these bullies of the pen, to defend their reputations? I remember, I thought it the hardest case in the world, when a poor acquaintance of mine, having fallen in among sharpers, where he lost all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargin, for offering to affront gentlemen. I believe the only reason, why these purloiners of the publick, cause such a clutter to be made about their reputations, is, to prevent inquisitions that might tend toward making them refund: like those women they call shoplifters, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted, for fear of being searched.

I will dismiss you, sir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have observed in the tolerated factious papers of the

week,

week, that the earl of Rochester is frequently reflected on, for having been ecclesiastical commissioner, and lord treasurer, in the reign of the late king James. The fact is true; and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that, because he could not comply with the measures then taking, he resigned both those employments; of which the latter was immediately supplied by a commission, composed of two popish lords, and the present earl of Godolphin.

NUMBER XXX.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1710-11.

Laus summa in fortunæ bonis, non extulisse se in potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se prætulisse aliis propter abundantium fortunæ.

In the goods of fortune it is the highest commendation to say, that he was not elated in power, insolent in riches, or contemptuous amid the overflowing of fortune.

I AM conscious to myself, that I write this paper with no other intention but of doing good. I never received injury from the late ministry, nor advantage from the present, farther than in common with every good subject. There were among the former, one or two, who must be allowed to have possessed very valuable qualities: but, proceeding by a system of politic wh

which our constitution could not suffer, and discovering a contempt of all religion, especially of that which has been so happily established among us ever since the Reformation; they seem to have been justly suspected of no very good inclinations to either.

It is possible, that a man may speculatively prefer the constitution of another country, or a Utopia of his own, before that of the nation where he is born and lives; yet, from considering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impossibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present order of things, and be a true friend to the government already settled. So in religion, a man may perhaps have little or none of it at heart; yet if he conceals his opinions, if he endeavours to make no proselytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or discourse; if, according to the common atheistical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe, and that the present model is better adjusted than any other to so useful an end; although the condition of such a man, as to his own future state, be very deplorable; yet Providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even such a man an instrument for contributing toward the preservation of the church.

On the other side; I take a state to be truly in danger, both as to its religion and government, when a set of ambitious politicians, bred up in hatred to the constitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting these qualities

in

order to keep or increase their power, by idening their bottom, and taking in (like Maomet) some principles from every party, that is n any way discontented at the present faith and settlement; which was manifestly our case. Upon this occasion, I remember to have asked some considerable whigs, whether it did not bring a disreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of presbyterians, independents, atheists, anabaptists, deists, quakers, and socinians, openly and universally listed under their banners? They answered that all this was absolutely necessary, in order to make a balance against the tories; and all little enough; for indeed, it was as much as they could possibly do, although assisted with the absolute power of disposing of every employment; while the bulk of the English gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and state.

But, notwithstanding what I have hitherto said, I am informed, several among the whigs continue still so refractory, that they will hardly allow the heads of their party to have entertained any designs of ruining the constitution; or that they would have endeavoured it if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon, if I have discovered a secret; but who could imagine they ever intended it should be one, after those overt acts with which they thought fit to conclude their farce? But perhaps they now find it convenient to deny vigorously; that the questio may remain, why was the old ministry change which they urge on without ceasing, as if no o casion in the least had been given; but that

were owing to the insinuations of crafty men, practising upon the weakness of an easy prince: I shall therefore offer, among a hundred, one reason for this change, which I think would justify any monarch, who ever reigned, for the like proceeding.

It is notorious enough, how highly princes have been blamed in the histories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their minions; who have been ever justly odious to the people for their insolence and avarice, and engrossing the favours of their masters. Whoever has been the least conversant in the English story, cannot but have heard of Gaveston, the Spencers, and the earl of Oxford; who, by the excess and abuse of their power, cost the princes they served, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the case of minions, it must at least be acknowledged, that the prince is pleased and happy, although his subjects be aggrieved; and he has the plea of friendship to excuse him, which is a disposition of generous minds. Besides, a wise minion, although he be haughty to others, is humble and insinuating to his master, and cultivates his favour by obedience and respect. But our misfortune has been a great deal worse; we have suffered for some years under the oppression, the avarice, and insolence of those, for whom the queen had neither esteem nor friendship; who rather seemed to snatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their sovereign; and were so far from returning respect, that they forgot common good manners. They imposed on their prince, by urging the necessity of affairs of their

own creating: they first raised difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themselves in power. They united themselves, against nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full possession of the court: then they urged the formidable strength of that party, and the dangers which must follow by disobliging it. So that it seems almost a miracle how a princess, thus besieged on all sides, could alone have courage and prudence enough to extricate herself.

And indeed there is a point of history relating to this matter, which well deserves to be considered. When her majesty came to the crown, she took into favour and employment several persons, who were esteemed the best friends of the old constitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the high church principles (as they are usually called) than two or three who had at that time most credit; and ever since, until within these few months, possessed all power at court. So that the first umbrage given to the whigs, and the pretences for clamouring against France and the pretender, were derived from them. And I believed nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that such different opinions should ever incorporate; that party having, upon former occasions, treated those very persons with enmity enough. But some lords then about court, and in the queen's good graces, not able to endure those growing impositions upon the prince and people, presumed to interpose; and were consequently soon removed and disgraced.

However,

However, when a most exorbitant grant was proposed, antecedent to any visible merit, it miscarried in parliament, for want of being seconded by those who had most credit in the house; and who, having always opposed the like excesses in a former reign, thought it their duty to do so still, to show to the world that the dislike was not against persons, but things. But this was to cross the oligarchy in the tenderest point; a point which outweighed all considerations of duty and gratitude to their prince, or regard to the constitution: and therefore, after having in several private meetings concerted measures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions; they began to change their style and their countenance, and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emissaries, that England must be saved by whigs. This unnatural league was afterward cultivated by another incident, I mean the act of security, and the consequences of it, which every body knows; when (to use the words of my correspondent*) the sovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister. Thus the union of the two kingdoms, improved that between the ministry and the junto; which was afterward cemented by their mutual danger in that storm they so narrowly escaped about three years ago, but however was not quite perfected till prince George's† death; and then they went lovingly on together, both satisfied

* Letter to the Examiner. H.

† Prince George of Denmark, husband to the queen. N.

with

with their several shares, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations; the first, their avarice and ambition; the other, their models of innovation in church and state.

Therefore, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled question, why was the late ministry changed, may receive the following answer; that it was become necessary by the insolence and avarice of some about the queen, who, in order to perpetuate their tyranny, had made a monstrous alliance with those who profess principles destructive to our religion and government. If this will not suffice, let him make an abstract of all the abuses I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which, if he still remain unsatisfied, let him suspend his opinion a few weeks longer. Although, after all, I think the question as trifling as that of the papists, when they ask us, where was our religion before Luther? And indeed the ministry was changed for the same reasons that religion was reformed; because a thousand corruptions had crept into the discipline and doctrine of the state, by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition of those, who administered to us in secular affairs.

I heard myself censured the other day in a coffee-house, for seeming to glance in the letter to Crassus against a great man, who is still in employment, and likely to continue so. What if I had really intended that such an application should be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be justly blamed for so gentle a reproof. If I saw a handsome young fellow going to a ball at court, with a great smut upon his face; could he

he take it ill in me to point out the place, and desire him, with abundance of good words, to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a glass, where he might plainly see it with his own eyes? Does any man think I shall suffer my pen to inveigh against vices, only because they are charged upon persons who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or less pernicious, according to the stations of those who possess them. For example, lewdness and intemperance are not of so bad consequences in a town-rake, as in a divine; cowardice in a lawyer, is more supportable than in an officer of the army. If I should find fault with an admiral because he wanted politeness, or an alderman for not understanding Greek; that indeed would be to go out of the way for occasion of quarelling. But excessive avarice in a general is, I think, the greatest defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct; and may be attended with the most ruinous consequences, as it was in Crassus, who to that vice alone owed the destruction of himself and his army. It is the same thing in praising men's excellencies; which are more or less valuable, as the person you commend has occasion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honestly; yet, if he be not able to spell, he shall never have my vote to be a secretary. Another may have wit and learning, in a post, where honesty with plain common sense are of much more use. You may praise a soldier for his skill at chess, because it is said to be a military game, and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a

treasurer

treasurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a gamester or a jockey.

P.S. I have received a letter relating to Mr. Greenshields; the person that sent it may know, that I will say something to it in the next paper.

NUMBER XXXI.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1710-11.

Quæ enim domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma civitas est, quæ non odiis atque dissidiis funditùs possit everti?

What family so established, what society so firmly united, that it cannot be broken and dissolved by intestine quarrels and divisions?

IF we examine what societies of men are in closest union among themselves, we shall find them either to be those who are engaged in some evil design, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of banditti in several countries abroad, the knots of highwaymen in our own nation, the several tribes of sharpers, thieves, and pickpockets, with many others, are so firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or dissolve their several gangs: so likewise

wise those who are fellow sufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are usually contracted into a very strict union; as we may observe in the papists throughout the kingdom, under those real difficulties which are justly put on them; and in the several schisms of presbyterians, and other sects, under that grievous persecution of the modern kind, called want of power. And the reason why such confederacies are kept so sacred and inviolable, is very plain; because, in each of those cases I have mentioned, the whole body is moved by one spirit in pursuit of one general end, and the interest of individuals is not crossed by each other, or by the whole.

Now both these motives are joined to unite the high-flying whigs at present: they have been always engaged in an evil design, and of late they are faster rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loss of power. So that whatever designs a mischievous crew of dark confederates may possibly entertain, who will stop at no means to compass them, may be justly apprehended from these.

On the other side, those who wish well to the publick, and would gladly contribute to its service are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it: and when their party flourishes, are sometimes envious at those in power; ready to over-value their own merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the measure they have prescribed for themselves. There is a farther topick of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into, in relation to retrospections,

ns, and inquiry into past miscarriages; wherein me are thought too warm and zealous, others o cool and remiss; while in the mean time these ivisions are industriously fomented by the dis- arded faction; which, although it be an old practice, has been much improved in the schools of the jesuits; who, when they despaired of perverting this nation to popery, by arguments or plots against the state, sent their emissaries to subdivide us into schisms. And this expedient is now, with great propriety, taken up by our men of incensed moderation; because they suppose themselves able to attack the strongest of our subdivisions, and to subdue us one after another. Nothing better resembles this proceeding, than that famous combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; where, two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adversaries, after he had divided them by a stratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this should be touched; yet at the same time I think it my duty to warn the friends as well as expose the enemies of the publick weal; and to begin preaching up union, upon the first suspicion that any steps are made to disturb it.

But the two chief subjects of discontent, which, upon most great changes in the management of publick affairs are apt to breed differences among those who are in possession, are what I have jus now mentioned; a desire of punishing the co ruption of former managers; and rewardir merit among those who have been any way i

strumen

strumental or consenting to the change. The first of these is a point so nice, that I shall purposely wave it: but the latter I take to fall properly within my district. By merit, I here understand that value which every man puts upon his own deservings from the publick. And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of paymaster general to this sort of merit; or a more noisy, crowded place, than a court of judicature erected to settle and adjust every man's claim upon that article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the ancient poets, they would have dressed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction; and given us a genealogy and description of merit, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A poetical genealogy and description of MERIT.

"THAT true merit was the son of Virtue and Honour; but that there was likewise a spurious child, who usurped the name, and whose parents were Vanity and Impudence. That at a distance there was a great resemblance between them, and they were often mistaken for each other. That the bastard issue had a loud shrill voice, which was perpetually employed in cravings and complaints; while the other never spoke louder than a whisper, and was often so bashful that he could not speak at all. That in all great assemblies the false merit would step before the true, and stand just in his way; was constantly at court, or great men's levees, or whispering in some minister's ear. That the more you fed him, the more hungry and

importunate he grew. That he often passed for the true son of Virtue and Honour, and the genuine, for an impostor. That he was born distorted and a dwarf, but by force of art appeared of handsome shape, and taller than the usual size; and that none but those who were wise and good, as well as vigilant, could discover his littleness or deformity. That the true Merit had been often forced to the indignity of applying to the false, for his credit with those in power, and to keep himself from starving. That false Merit filled the antichambers with a crew of his dependants and creatures, such as projectors, schematists, occasional converts to a party, prostitute flatterers, starveling writers, buffoons, shallow politicians, empty orators, and the like; who all owned him for their patron, and he grew discontented if they were not immediately fed."

This metaphorical description of false Merit is, I doubt, calculated for most countries in Christendom; as to our own, I believe it may be said, with a sufficient reserve of charity, that we are fully able to reward every man among us according to his real deservings: and I think I may add, without suspicion of flattery, that never any prince had a ministry with a better judgment to distinguish between false and real merit, than that which is now at the helm; or whose inclination, as well as interest, was greater to encourage the latter. And it ought to be observed, that those great and excellent persons we see at the head of affairs, are of the queen's own personal, voluntary choice; not forced upon her by any insolent,

insolent, over-grown favourite, or by the pretended necessity of complying with an unruly faction.

Yet these are the persons whom those scandals to the press, in their daily pamphlets and papers, openly revile at so ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For surely no lawful power derived from a prince should be so far affronted, as to leave those who are in authority exposed to every scurrilous libeller: because in this point I make a mighty difference between those who are in, and those who are out of power; not upon any regard to their persons, but the stations they are placed in by the sovereign. And if my distinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether if a stranger were to read the invectives which are daily published against the present ministry, and the outrageous fury of the authors against me for censuring the last; he would not conclude the whigs to be at this time in full possession of power and favour, and the tories entirely at their mercy. But all this now ceases to be a wonder, since the queen herself is no longer spared; witness the libel published some days ago, under the title of "A Letter to Sir Jacob Banks," where the reflections upon her sacred majesty, are much more plain and direct, than ever the Examiner thought fit to publish against the most obnoxious persons in a ministry, discarded for endeavouring the ruin of their prince and country. Cæsar indeed threatened to hang the pirates for presuming to disturb him, while he was their prisoner aboard their ship: But it was Cæsar who did so,

and he did it to a crew of publick robbers; and it became the greatness of his spirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had they been in his power and sent such a message, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madness.

I had a letter last week relating to Mr. Greenshields, an episcopal clergyman of Scotland; and the writer seems to be a gentleman of that part of Britain. I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr. Greenshields' case, who has been prosecuted and silenced, for no other reason beside reading divine service after the manner of the church of England, to his own congregation, who desired it; though, as the gentleman who writes to me says, there is no law in Scotland against those meetings; and he adds, that the sentence pronounced against Mr. Greenshields will soon be affirmed, if some care be not taken to prevent it. I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this case, and besides, to treat it justly would not come within the compass of my paper; therefore I could wish the gentleman would undertake it in a discourse by itself; and I should be glad he would inform the publick in one fact; whether episcopal assemblies are freely allowed in Scotland? It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence some years ago into England and Ireland, as from a persecution; but it was alleged by their enemies, that they refused to take the oaths to the government, which however none of them scrupled when they came among us. It is somewhat extraordinary

extraordinary to see our whigs and fanaticks keep such a stir about the sacred act of toleration, while their brethren will not allow a connivance in so near a neighbourhood; especially if what the gentleman insists on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, are episcopal; of which, one argument he offers is, the present choice of their representatives in both houses, though opposed to the utmost by the preachings, threatenings, and anathemas of the kirk. Such usage to a majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous consequence; and I entirely agree with him. If these be the principles of the high kirk, god preserve, at least the southern parts from their tyranny!

NUMBER XXXII.

THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1710-11.

——— *Garrit aniles*
Ex re fabellas.

——— Never fails
To cheer our converse with his pithy tales.

I HAD last week sent me, by an unknown hand, a passage out of Plato, with some hints how to apply it. That author puts a fable into the

the mouth of Aristophanes, with an account of the original of love: that mankind was at first created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now; till Jupiter, as a punishment for his sins, cleft him in two with a thunderbolt; since which time we are always looking out for our other half; and this is the cause of love. But Jupiter threatened, that if they did not mend their manners, he would give them t'other slit, and leave them to hop about in the shape of figures in *basso relievo*. The effect of this last threatening, my correspondent imagines, is now come to pass; and that as the first splitting was the original of love, by inclining us to search for our other half; so the second was the cause of hatred, by prompting us to fly from our other side, and dividing the same body into two, gave each slice the name of party.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: for parties do not only split a nation, but every individual among them, leaving each but half their strength, and wit, and honesty, and good nature; but one eye and ear for their sight and hearing, and equally lopping the rest of the senses. Where parties are pretty equal in a state, no man can perceive one bad quality in his own, or good one in his adversaries. Besides, party being a dry disagreeable subject, it renders conversation insipid or sour, and confines invention. I speak not here of the leaders, but the insignificant crowd of followers in a party, who have been the instruments of mixing it in every condition and circumstance of life. As the zealots among the Jews bound the law about their forehead,

forehead, and wrists, and hems of their garments, so the women among us have got the distinguishing marks of party in their muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The whig ladies put on their patches in a different manner from the tories. They have made schisms in the playhouse, and each have their particular sides at the opera: and when a man changes his party, he must infallibly count upon the loss of his mistress. I asked a gentleman the other day, how he liked such a lady? But he would not give me his opinion, till I had answered him whether she were a whig or a tory. Mr. Prior, since he is known to visit the present ministry, and lay some time under a suspicion of writing the Examiner, is no longer a man of wit; his very poems have contracted a stupidity, many years after they were printed.

Having lately ventured upon a metaphorical genealogy of Merit, I thought it would be proper to add another of Party, or rather of Faction (to avoid mistake) not telling the reader whether it be my own or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read, or dreamed it, the fable is as follows:

"LIBERTY, the daughter of Oppression, after having brought forth several fair children, as Riches, Arts, Learning, Trade, and many others, was at last delivered of her youngest daughter, called Faction; whom Juno, doing the office of the midwife, distorted in her birth out of envy to the mother, whence it derived its peevishness and sickly constitution. However, as it is often the nature of parents to grow most fond of their youngest

youngest and disagreeablest* children, so it happened with Liberty; who doated on this daughter to such a degree, that by her good will she would never suffer the girl to be out of her sight. As miss Faction grew up, she became so termagant and froward, that there was no enduring her any longer in Heaven. Jupiter gave her warning to be gone; and her mother, rather than forsake her, took the whole family down to earth. She landed first in Greece; was expelled by degrees through all the cities by her daughter's ill conduct; fled afterward to Italy, and being banished thence, took shelter among the Goths, with whom she passed into most parts of Europe; but, being driven out every where, she began to lose esteem, and her daughter's faults were imputed to herself: so that at this time she has hardly a place in the world to retire to. One would wonder what strange qualities this daughter must possess, sufficient to blast the influence of so divine a mother, and the rest of her children. She always affected to keep mean and scandalous company; valuing nobody but just as they agreed with her in every capricious opinion she thought fit to take up; and rigorously exacting compliance, though she changed her sentiments ever so often. Her great employment was to breed discord among friends and relations, and make up monstrous alliances between those whose dispositions least resembled each other. Whoever offered to contradict her, though in the most in-

* 'Disagreeablest'—has a bad sound; it should be 'most 'disagreeable;' polysyllables, in general, should have their degrees of comparison formed by, 'more' and 'most.' S.

significant

significant trifle, she would be sure to distinguish by some ignominious appellation, and allow them to have neither honour, wit, beauty, learning, honesty, or common sense. She intruded into all companies at the most unreasonable times; mixed at balls, assemblies, and other parties of pleasure, haunted every coffee-house and bookseller's shop, and by her perpetual talking filled all places with disturbance and confusion: she buzzed about the merchant in the exchange, the divine in his pulpit, and the shopkeeper behind his counter. Above all, she frequented publick assemblies, where she sat in the shape of an obscene, ominous bird, ready to prompt her friends, as they spoke."

If I understand this fable of Faction right, it ought to be applied to those who set themselves up against the true interest and constitution of their country; which I wish the undertakers for the late ministry would please to take notice of, or tell us by what figure of speech they pretend to call so great and unforced a majority, with the queen at their head, by the name of the faction; which is not unlike the phrase of the nonjurors, who, dignifying one or two deprived bishops, and half a score clergymen of the same stamp, with the title of the church of England, exclude all the rest as schismaticks; or like the presbyterians laying the same accusation, with equal justice, against the established religion.

And here it may be worth inquiring, what are the true characteristicks of a faction; or how it is to be distinguished from that great body of the people who are friends to the constitution? The heads

heads of a faction are usually a set of upstarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom some great change in a government did at first out of their obscurity produce upon the stage. They associate themselves with those who dislike the old establishment, religious and civil. They are full of new schemes in politicks and divinity; they have an incurable hatred against the old nobility, and strengthen their party by dependants raised from the lowest of the people. They have several ways of working themselves into power; but they are sure to be called, when a corrupt administration wants to be supported, against those who are endeavouring at a reformation; and they firmly observe that celebrated maxim, of preserving power by the same arts by which it is attained. They act with the spirit of those who believe their time is but short; and their first care is, to heap up immense riches at the publick expense; in which they have two ends beside that common one of insatiable avarice, which are, to make themselves necessary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compass their design, which is, instead of fitting their principles to the constitution, to alter and adjust the constitution to their own pernicious principles.

It is easy determining by this test, to which side the name of faction most properly belongs. But however, I will give them any system of law or regal government, from William the Conqueror to this present time, to try whether they can tally it with their late models; excepting only that of Cromwell, whom perhaps they will reckon for a monarch.

If

'If the present ministry, and so great a majority in the parliament and kingdom, be only a faction, it must appear by some actions which answer the idea we usually conceive from that word. Have they abused the prerogatives of the prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the subject? have they offered at any dangerous innovations in church or state? have they broached any doctrines of heresy, rebellion, or tyranny? have any of them treated their sovereign with insolence, engrossed and sold all her favours, or deceived her by base, gross misrepresentations of her most faithful servants? These are the arts of a faction, and whoever has practised them, they and their followers must take up with the name.

It is usually reckoned a whig principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been so wise as to poison their understandings beforehand. Will they now stand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which side their title of faction belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their understanding and choice, I believe their adversaries will hardly deny. They will now refuse this appeal, and it is reasonable they should; and I will farther add, that if our people resembled the old Grecians, there might be danger in such a trial. A pragmatical orator told a great man at Athens, that whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces: Yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you, whenever they are in their wits. But God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at present under better direction; and

the

the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their sovereign's presence, and before the highest court of judicature, without any hazard to their persons.

NUMBER XXXIII.

THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1710-11.

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parti corporis sculpellum adhibetur, atque integræ; carnificina est ista, et crudelitas. Hi medentur reipublicæ, qui exsecant pestem aliquam, tanquam strumam civitatis.

To apply the knife to a sound and healthy part of the body, is butchery and cruelty; not real surgery. Those are the true physicians and surgeons of a state, who cut off the pests of society, like wens from the human body.

I AM diverted from the general subject of my discourses, to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and surprising nature. A great minister, in high confidence with the queen, under whose management the weight of affairs at present is in a great measure supposed to lie; sitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of the state, is stabbed at the very board in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French papist *, then under examination for high

* The abbé de Bourlie, who, having quitted his native country, solicited to be employed against it in several courts of Europe, and assumed

high treason; the assassin redoubles his blow to make sure work: and concluding the chancellor* was dispatched, goes on with the same rage to murder a principal secretary of state†: and that whole noble assembly are forced to rise and draw their swords in their own defence, as if a wild beast had been let loose among them.

This fact has some circumstances of aggravation not to be paralleled by any of the like kind we meet with in history. Cæsar's murder being performed in the senate comes nearest to the case: but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief senators, who were likewise the actors in it; and not the work of a vile single ruffian. Harry the third of France was stabbed by an enthusiastick friar, whom he suffered to approach his person, while those who attended him stood at some distance. His successor met the same fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles, in such a confinement, were able to defend themselves. In our own country we have, I think, but one instance of this sort, which has made any noise; I mean that of Felton about fourscore years ago; but he took the opportunity to stab the duke of Buckingham, in passing through a

assumed the title of marquis de Guiscard. He at length obtained a commission from queen Anne, and embarked in an expedition against France, which miscarried; and his expectations being disappointed by the new ministry, he endeavoured to make his peace at home, by acting here as a spy; and commenced a treasonable correspondence: his letters were intercepted, and produced to him by Mr. Harley, at his examination. H.

* Mr. Harley, then chancellor of the exchequer, afterward earl of Oxford. H.

† Mr. Henry St. John, afterward lord Bolingbroke. H.

dark

dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither seen nor heard, and the murderer might have escaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is usual in such cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, that act of Felton will admit of some extenuation from the motives he is said to have had: but this attempt of Guiscard seems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumstance, except the difference of persons between a king and a great minister; for I give no allowance at all to the difference of success (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending) nor think it the least alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the punishment.

I am sensible it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few desperate villains it is so unfortunate to produce; yet at the same time it must be avowed, that the French have, for these last centuries, been somewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the persons of their greatest men; such as the admiral de Coligny, the dukes of Guise father and son, and the two kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a people, whose genius seems wholly turned to singing and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence; who lay so much weight upon modes and gestures; whose essentialities are generally so very superficial; who are usually so serious upon trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious, have been capable of committing such solid villanies, more suitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or the silence and thoughtfulness of an Italian: unless it be, that in a nation naturally so full of themselves, and of

so

so restless imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy constitution, that huddle of confused thoughts, for want of evaporating, usually terminates in rage or despair. D'Avila observes, that Jaques Clement* was a sort of buffoon, whom the rest of the friars used to make sport with; but at last giving his folly a serious turn, it ended in enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate act of murdering his king.

But, in the marquis de Guiscard, there seems to have been a complication of ingredients for such an attempt. He had committed several enormities in France, was extremely prodigal and vicious, of a dark melancholy complexion and cloudy countenance, such as in vulgar physiognomy is called an ill look. For the rest, his talents were very mean, having a sort of inferior cunning, but very small abilities; so that a great man of the late ministry, by whom he was invited over, and with much discretion raised at first step, from a profligate popish priest, to a lieutenant general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, was at last forced to drop him for shame.

Had such an accident happened under that ministry, and to so considerable a member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of those they are pleased to call the faction. This would have been styled a high church principle: the clergy would have been accused as promoters and abettors of the fact: committees would have been sent, to promise the criminal his life,

* The monk who stabbed Henry III. of France. H.

provided

provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confession; and a black list would have been printed of all those who had been ever seen in the murderer's company. But the present men in power hate and despise all such detestable arts, which they might now turn upon their adversaries with much more plausibility, than ever these did their honourable negotiations with Gregg*.

And here it may be worth observing, how unanimous a concurrence there is between some persons once in great power, and a French papist; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr. Harley's life, though differing in their methods; the first, proceeding by subornation, the

* In the beginning of the year 1708, William Gregg, an under clerk to Mr. secretary Harley, was detected in a correspondence with monsieur Chamillard, one of the French king's ministers, to whom he transmitted the proceedings of both houses of parliament with respect to the augmentation of the British forces, and other papers of great importance. Gregg, when he was indicted of this treason, pleaded guilty, which gave occasion to Mr. Harley's enemies to insinuate, that he was privy to Gregg's practices, and had by assurances of pardon prevailed upon him to plead guilty, in order to prevent the examination of witnesses: the house of lords appointed a committee of seven, of whom lord Sunderland was manager, to inquire into the affair; the committee presented an address to the queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr. Harley's papers had been long exposed to the meanest clerks in his office; and it was requested, that more caution might be used for the future. Upon this address the execution of Gregg was deferred a month; during which time he was solicited, threatened, and promised, but still persisting to take the whole guilt upon himself, he was at length executed, having, in a paper which he left behind him, justified Mr. Harley in particular; which he would scarce have thought necessary, if no particular attempt had been made against him. N.

other,

other, by violence: wherein Guiscard seems to have the advantage, as aiming no farther than his life; while the others designed to destroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both against this gentleman seems to have risen from the same cause, his discovering designs against the government. It was Mr. Harley, who detected the treasonable correspondence of Gregg, and secured him betimes, when a certain great man, who shall be nameless, had, out of the depth of his politicks, sent him a caution to make his escape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr. Harley; but when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal with promise of a pardon, to write and sign an accusation against the secretary: but to use Gregg's own expression, his death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a life, that must be saved by prostituting his conscience. The same gentleman now lies stabbed by his other enemy, a popish spy, whose treason he has discovered. God preserve the rest of her majesty's ministers from such protestants, and from such papists!

I shall take occasion to hint at some particularities in this surprising fact, for the sake of those at a distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confessed in Newgate, that his chief design was against Mr. secretary St. John, who happened to change seats with Mr. Harley for more convenience of examining the criminal: and being asked what provoked him to stab the chancellor, he said, that not being able to come at the secretary as he intended, it was some satis-

faction to murder the person whom he thought Mr. St. John loved best*.

And here, if Mr. Harley has still any enemies left, whom his blood spilt in the publick service cannot reconcile, I hope they will at least admire his magnanimity, which is a quality esteemed even in an enemy; and I think there are few greater instances of it to be found in story. After the wound was given, he was observed neither to change his countenance, nor discover any concern or disorder in his speech. He rose up, and walked about the room while he was able, with the greatest tranquillity, during the height of the confusion. When the surgeon came, he took him aside, and desired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, because in that case, he said, he had some affairs to settle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife†, broken

* How much he was mistaken appears by lord Bolingbroke's letter to sir William Wyndham. H.

† The penknife, which had a tortoiseshell handle, was given by Mr. Harley to Dr. Swift; who had the broken blade joined by a silver chain, some years after by Mr. Calderwood, in Dublin. Trifling as this circumstance may appear, a similar assertion of Mr. Deane Swift's produced from Dr. Delany the following positive denial of the fact: "P. 163 of your Essay, you tell us of my lord Oxford's great love to Swift, in the following words— 'but what, I think, shewed more kindness and affection than any of the former, was the present of that penknife wherewith the earl had been stabbed by Guiscard. I have seen the penknife several times: it was a common ordinary penknife, with a tortoiseshell handle; and, when it was shut, was about the length of a man's little finger. But as the blade was broken within half an inch of the handle, by the violence of the blow, against one of the ribs of the earl, the doctor had a hole drilled through that part of the blade—

broken by the violence of the blow against the rib, within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound, or his clothes) as the surgeon was going to dress him: he ordered it to be taken up, and wiping it himself, gave it somebody to keep, saying, he thought it now properly belonged to him. He showed no sort of resentment; nor spoke one violent word against Guiscard, but appeared all the while the least concerned of any in the company; a state of mind, which, in such an exigency, nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a Christian philosopher.

If there be really so great a difference in principle, between the high-flying whigs and the friends of France, I cannot but repeat the question, how came they to join in the destruction of the same man? can his death be possibly for the interest of both? or have they both the same quarrel against him, that he is perpetually discovering and preventing the treacherous designs of our enemies? However it be, this great minister

blade which was broken off, and another to go through the piece which remained in the handle; and by that contrivance they were both held together by a silver chain.' Now, sir, it happens very unfortunately for you, that there is not one tittle of truth in this whole formal circumstantial relation. The penknife was a common clerk's penknife with an ivory handle: it neither opened nor shut: and both that, and the clothes through which my lord treasurer was stabbed, have been kept in the family, from that day to this, with as much care as their jewels, and are both now in the possession of the present earl of Oxford, the heir male of that family and honour. And I have all this from my lord himself, and from the mouth of another person of high rank, who knows the truth of it."—Letter to Deane Swift, esq. p. 20. N.

may now say with St. Paul, that he has been in perils by his own countrymen, and in perils by strangers.

In the midst of so melancholy a subject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country, that such a savage monster as the marquis de Guiscard is none of her production: a wretch, perhaps more detestable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to represent him to the world. For there are good reasons to believe from several circumstances, that he had intentions of a deeper die than those he happened to execute: I mean such as every good subject must tremble to think on. He has of late been frequently seen going up the back stairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her majesty's bed chamber. He has often and earnestly pressed, for some time, to have access to the queen, even since his correspondence with France. And he has now given such a proof of his disposition, as leaves it easy to guess what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legislature will interpose on so extraordinary an occasion as this, and direct a punishment * some way proportionable to so execrable a crime.

Et quicunque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat meritu———

* An act was immediately passed, to make an attempt on the life of a privy counsellor, in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy. H.

NUMBER XXXIV.

THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1710-11.

De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius, tibi assentior.

I agree with you in respect to your sentiments for preserving our liberty, than which nothing can be more pleasing to a human mind.

THE apologies of the ancient fathers are reckoned to have been the most useful parts of their writings, and to have done greater service to the Christian religion; because they removed those misrepresentations which had done it most injury. The methods these writers took, were openly and freely to discover every point of their faith, to detect the falsehood of their accusers, and to charge nothing upon their adversaries, but what they were sure to make good. This example has been ill followed of later times: the papists, since the reformation, using all arts to palliate the absurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thousand calumnies; the consequence of which has been only a more various, wide, and inveterate separation. It is the same thing in civil schisms; a whig forms an image of a tory, just after the thing he most abhors, and that image serves to represent the whole body.

I am not sensible of any material difference there is between those who call themselves the old whigs, and a great majority of the present tories; at least by all I could ever find from examining several persons of each denomination. But it must be confessed, that the present body of whigs, as they now constitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom by taking in every heterodox professor, either in religion or government, whose opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of lessening their number; while the bulk of the landed men, and people, were entirely of the old sentiments. However, they still pretended a due regard to the monarchy and the church, even at the time when they were making the largest steps toward the ruin of both: but, not being able to wipe off the many accusations laid to their charge, they endeavoured, by throwing scandal, to make the tories appear blacker than themselves; and so the people might join with them, as the smaller evil of the two.

But among all the reproaches which the whigs have flung upon their adversaries, there is none has done them more service than that of passive obedience, as they represent it with the consequences of non-resistance, arbitrary power, indefeasible right, tyranny, popery, and what not. There is no accusation which has passed with more plausibility than this, or any that is supported with less justice. In order therefore to undeceive those who have been misled by false representations, I thought it would be no improper undertaking to set this matter in a fair light,

which

which I think has not yet been done. A whig asks, whether you hold passive obedience? You affirm it; he then immediately cries out, You are a jacobite, a friend of France and the pretender! because he makes you answerable for the definition he has formed of that term, however different it be from what you understand. I will therefore give two descriptions of passive obedience; the first, as it is falsely charged by the whigs; the other, as it is really professed by the tories; at least by nineteen in twenty of all I ever conversed with.

Passive obedience, as charged by the WHIGS.

THE doctrine of passive obedience is, to believe that a king, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God, is only answerable to him: that such a king is above all law; that the cruellest tyrant must be submitted to in all things; and if his commands be ever so unlawful, you must neither fly nor resist, nor use any other weapons than prayers and tears. Although he should force your wife and daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diversion; you are still to wish him a long, prosperous reign, and to be patient under all his cruelties, with the same resignation as under a plague or a famine; because to resist him, would be to resist God, in the person of his vicegerent. If a king of England should go through the streets of London in order to murder every man he met, passive obedience commands them to submit. All laws made to limit him signify nothing, although

passed

passed by his own consent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a severe account; but the whole people, united to a man, cannot presume to hold his hands, or offer him the least active disobedience: the people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, although worse than what I have described, although a fool or madman, has a divine indefeasible right to succeed him, which no law can disannul *; nay, although he should kill his father upon the throne, he is immediately king to all intents and purposes; the possession of the crown wiping off all stains. But whosoever sits on the throne without this title, though ever so peaceably, and by consent of former kings and parliaments, is a usurper, while there is any where in the world another person, who has a nearer hereditary right; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal sin, till that heir be restored, because he has a divine title, which no human law can defeat.

This and a great deal more has, in a thousand papers and pamphlets, been laid to that doctrine of passive obedience, which the whigs are pleased to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually instilling into the people, as the undoubted principle by which the present ministry, and a great majority in parliament do at this time proceed. This is what they accuse the clergy of

* Disannul is a superfluous and an improper word; as 'annul, is used in exactly the same sense, and the prefix 'dis,' according to all rules of analogy, ought to give it an opposite meaning. S.

delivering

delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doctrine absolutely necessary to salvation. And whoever affirms in general, that passive obedience is due to the supreme power, he is presently loaded by our candid adversaries, with such consequences as these. Let us therefore see what this doctrine is, when stripped of such misrepresentations, by describing it as really taught and practised by the tories; and then it will appear what ground our adversaries have to accuse us upon this article.

Passive obedience, as professed and practised by the TORIES.

THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republick, there is placed a supreme, absolute, unlimited power, to which passive obedience is due. That wherever is entrusted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal, or enact at pleasure whatever laws it thinks fit; and justly demand universal obedience and nonresistance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the king or queen, together with the lords and commons of the kingdom; and therefore all decrees whatsoever, made by that power, are to be actively or passively obeyed. That the administration, or executive part of this power, is, in England, solely entrusted with the prince; who, in administering those laws, ought to be no more resisted, than the legislative power itself. But they do not conceive the same absolute passive obedience to be due to a limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws

laws he has consented to, and sworn to maintain. The crown may be sued as well as a private person; and if an arbitrary king of England should send his officers to seize my lands or goods against law, I can lawfully resist them. The ministers, by whom he acts, are liable to prosecution and impeachment, although his own person be sacred. But, if he interpose royal authority to support their insolence, I see no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reason to apprehend it will be so; after which, it becomes a case of necessity; and then, I suppose, a free people may assert their own rights, yet without any violation to the person or lawful power of the prince. But although the tories allow all this, and did justify it by the share they had in the Revolution; yet they see no reason for entering upon so ungrateful a subject, or raising controversies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehensions of tyranny, under the reign of so excellent a princess, and while we have so many laws of late years made to limit the prerogative; when, according to the judgment of those who know our constitution best, things rather seem to lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the succession, the tories think an hereditary right to be the best in its own nature, and most agreeable to our old constitution; yet, at the same time, they allow it to be defeasible by act of parliament; and so is Magna Charta too, if the legislature think fit; which is a truth so manifest, that no man, who understands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it.

These

These I take to be the sentiments of a great majority among the tories with respect to passive obedience: and if the whigs insist, from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men, to form a judgment of the whole body, according to the first account I have here given; I will engage to produce as many of their side, who are utterly against passive obedience even to the legislature; who will assert the last resort of power to be in the people, against those whom they have chosen and trusted as their representatives, with the prince at their head; and who will put wild improbable cases, to show the reasonableness and necessity of resisting the legislative power in such imaginary junctures: than which however nothing can be more idle; for I dare undertake in any system of government, either speculative or practick, that was ever yet in the world, from Plato's Republick to Harrington's Oceana, to put such difficulties as cannot be answered.

All the other calumnies raised by the whigs may be as easily wiped off; and I have the charity to wish they could as fully answer the just accusations we have against them. Dodwell, Hickes, and Lesley, are gravely quoted to prove, that the tories design to bring in the pretender; and if I should quote them to prove that the same thing is intended by the whigs, it would be full as reasonable; since I am sure they have at least as much to do with nonjurors as we. But our objections against the whigs are built upon their constant practice for many years, whereof I have produced a hundred instances, against any single

one

one of which no answer has yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with, that are written against the Examiner; such a task as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo, for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my mistakes; as I would be ready to do upon the call of the meanest adversary. Upon which occasion I shall take leave to add a few words.

I flattered myself last Thursday from the nature of my subject, and the inoffensive manner I handled it*, that I should have one week's respite from those merciless pens, whose severity will some time break my heart; but I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two lies, and a blunder. The first lie is a truth, that Guiscard was invited over; but it is of no consequence. I do not tax it as a fault; such sort of men have often been serviceable: I only blamed the indiscretion of raising a profligate abbot, at the first step, to a lieutenant general and colonel of a regiment of horse, without staying some reasonable time, as is usual in such cases, until he had given some proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that interest and credit he pretended to have in his country. But that is said to be another lie; for he was a papist, and could not have a regiment: however this other lie is a truth too; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent monsieur le Bas for his use.

* 'And the inoffensive manner I handled it'—is a mode of speech ungrammatical, it ought to be—'in which I handled it.' S.

The

The third is a blunder; that I say Guiscard's design was against Mr. secretary St. John, and yet my reasonings upon it are as if it were personally against Mr. Harley. But I say no such thing, and my reasonings are just. I relate only what Guiscard said in Newgate, because it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know, and accordingly it lies in paragraph by itself, after my reflections; but I never meant to be answerable for what Guiscard said, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw conclusions thence, when I had the address of both houses to direct me better; where it is expressly said, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, have drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. This is what I believe, and what I shall stick to.

But, alas! these are not the passages which have raised so much fury against me. One or two mistakes in facts of no importance, or a single blunder, would not have provoked them: they are not so tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occasioned by those passages in that paper, which they do not in the least pretend to answer, and with the utmost reluctancy are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear Guiscard from a design against Mr. Harley's life; but offer not one argument to clear their other friends, who in the business of Gregg were equally guilty of the same design against the same person; whose tongues were very swords, and whose penknives were axes.

NUMBER XXXV.

THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 1711.

—Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi;
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.

See
The palm that virtue yields! in scenes like these
We trace humanity, and man with man
Related by the kindred sense of woe.

I BEGIN to be heartily weary of my employment as Examiner; which I wish the ministry would consider with half so much concern as I do, and assign me some other, with less pains, and a larger pension. There may soon be a vacancy either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am equally qualified for each; but this trade of examining, I apprehend, may at one time or other go near to sour my temper. I did lately propose, that some of those ingenious pens, which are engaged on the other side, might be employed to succeed me; and I undertook to bring them over for t'other crown; but it was answered, that those gentlemen do much better service in the stations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuses yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I had often promised to do, but was too much diverted by other subjects that came into my head. On the other side

side, the advices of some friends, and the threats of many enemies, have put me upon considering, what would have become of me, if times should alter: this I have done very maturely, and the result is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant that what I have said upon occasion, concerning the late men in power, may be called satire by some unthinking people, as long as that faction is down; but if ever they come into play again, I must give them warning beforehand, that I shall expect to be a favourite, and that those pretended advocates of theirs will be pilloried for libellers. For, I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one single action or design, which (if we may judge by their former practices) they will not openly profess, be proud of, and score up for merit when they come again to the head of affairs? I said, they were insolent to the queen: will they not value themselves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold assertors of the people's liberty? I affirmed, they were against a peace; will they be angry with me for setting forth the refinements of their politicks, in pursuing the only method left to preserve them in power? I said, they had involved the nation in debts, and engrossed much of its money: they go beyond me, and boast they have got it all, and the credit too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government; if they destroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyrick than an affront? I said, they had formerly a design

sign against Mr. Harley's life:* if they were now in power, would they not immediately cut off his head, and thank me for justifying the sincerity of their intentions? In short, there is nothing I ever said of those worthy patriots, which may not be as well excused: therefore, as soon as they resume their places, I positively design to put in my claim: and I think, may do it with a much better grace than many of that party, who now make their court to the present ministry. I know two or three great men, at whose levees you may daily observe a score of the most forward faces, which every body is ashamed of, except those who wear them. But, I conceive, my pretensions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel case: suppose king Charles the First had entirely subdued the rebels at Naseby, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience: whoever had gone about to reason from the former conduct of those saints, that if the victory had fallen on their side, they would have murdered their prince, destroyed monarchy and the church, and made the king's party compound for their estates as delinquents, would have been called a false uncharitable libeller, by those very persons, who afterward gloried in all this, and called it the work of the Lord, when they happened to succeed. I remember there was a person fined and imprisoned for *scandalum magnatum*, because he said the duke of York was a papist: but when that prince came to be king, and made open profession of his religion, he had the justice immediately

* See the Examiner, No. XXXIII. N.

to

to release his prisoner, who in his opinion had put a compliment upon him, and not a reproach: and therefore colonel Titus, who had warmly asserted the same thing in parliament, was made a privy counsellor.

By this rule, if that, which for some politick reasons is now called scandal upon the late ministry, proves one day to be only an abstract of such a character as they will assume and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretensions, and hope for their favour: and I am the more confirmed in this notion, by what I have observed in those papers that come out weekly against the Examiner. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my masters; that I blunder and betray the cause; and write with more bitterness against those who hire me, than against the whigs. Now I took all this at first only for so many strains of wit, and pretty paradoxes, to divert the reader: but, upon farther thinking, I find they are serious. I imagined I had complimented the present ministry for their dutiful behaviour to the queen, for their love of the old constitution in church and state, for their generosity and justice, and for their desire of a speedy honourable peace; but it seems I am mistaken, and they reckon all this for satire, because it is directly contrary to the practice of all those whom they set up to defend, and utterly against all their notions of a good ministry. Therefore I cannot but think they have reason on their side; for, suppose I should write the character of an honest, a religious, and a learned man; and send the first to Newgate, the second to the Grecian cof-

fee-house, and the last to White's, would they not all pass for satires, and justly enough, among the companies to whom they were sent?

Having therefore employed several papers in such sort of panegyrick, and but very few on what they understand to be satires, I shall henceforth upon occasion be more liberal of the latter; of which they are likely to have a taste in the remainder of this present paper.

Among all the advantages which the kingdom has received by the late change of ministry, the greatest must be allowed to be the calling of the present parliament upon the dissolution of the last. It is acknowledged, that this excellent assembly has entirely recovered the honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily prostituted for some years past, by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority, in concert with a most corrupt administration. It is plain by the present choice of members, that the electors of England, when left to themselves, do rightly understand their true interest. The moderate whigs begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in the wrong hands, and that things are now as they should be. And as the present house of commons is the best representative of the nation that has ever been summoned in our memories, so they have taken care in their first session, by that noble bill of qualification*, that future parliaments should be composed of landed men; and our properties lie no more at the mercy of those who

* The qualification required by this act is some estate in land, either in possession or certain reversion. See N°. XLIV. XLV. H.

have

have none themselves, or at least only what is transient or imaginary. If there be any gratitude in posterity, the memory of this assembly will be always celebrated; if otherwise, at least we, who share in the blessings they derive to us, ought with grateful hearts to acknowledge them.

I design in some following papers to draw up a list (for I can do no more) of the great things this parliament has already performed; the many abuses they have detected; their justice in deciding elections without regard to party: their cheerfulness and address in raising supplies for the war, and at the same time providing for the nation's debts; their duty to the queen, and their kindness to the church. In the mean time, I cannot forbear mentioning two particulars, which in my opinion do discover in some measure the temper of the present parliament, and bear analogy to those passages related by Plutarch in the lives of certain great men; which, as himself observes, although they be not of actions which make any great noise or figure in history, yet give more light into the characters of persons, than we could receive from an account of their most renowned achievements.

Something like this may be observed, from two late instances of decency and good nature in that illustrious assembly I am speaking of. The first was, when, after that inhuman attempt upon Mr. Harley, they were pleased to vote an address to the queen, wherein they express their utmost detestation of the fact, their high esteem and great concern for that able minister, and justly

impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her majesty's service, which had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. I dare affirm that so distinguishing a mark of honour and good will, from such a parliament, was more acceptable to a person of Mr. Harley's generous nature, than the most bountiful grant that was ever yet made to a subject; as her majesty's answer, filled with gracious expressions in his favour, adds more to his real glory, than any titles she could bestow. The prince and representatives of the whole kingdom, join in their concern for so important a life; these are the true rewards of virtue; and this is the commerce between noble spirits, in a coin, which the giver knows where to bestow, and the receiver how to value, although neither avarice nor ambition would be able to comprehend its worth.

The other instance I intend to produce of decency and good nature in the present house of commons, relates to their most worthy speaker*; who having† unfortunately lost his eldest son, the assembly, moved with a generous pity for so sensible an affliction, adjourned themselves for a

* William Bromley, esq. elected speaker, Nov. 23. 1710; and sworn of the privy council, June 23, 1711. He was the author of a volume of Travels through France and Italy, which has been much ridiculed on account of the minuteness with which trifling circumstances are related in it. See Lord Littelton's excellent Letter to his Father, Letter IV. He died Feb. 6, 1732. N.

† 'Who having,' &c.—Better thus—'upon whose having unfortunately lost his eldest son, the assembly,' &c. As in the other way, 'who' seems to be nominative referring to no verb. S.

week

week, that so good a servant for the publick might have some interval to wipe away a father's tears. And indeed that gentleman has too just an occasion for his grief, by the death of a son, who had already acquired so great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be so great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

Before I conclude, I must desire one favour of the reader; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruse any paper written against the Examiner, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in such papers, but be so just as to read the paragraph referred to, which I am confident will be found a sufficient answer to all that ever those papers can object: at least I have seen above fifty of them, and never yet observed one single quotation transcribed with common candour.

NUMBER XXXVI.

THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1711.

Nullo suo peccato impediantur, quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint.

No fault or crime in themselves, hinders them from searching into, and pointing out the faults of others.

I HAVE been considering the old constitution of this kingdom; comparing it with the monarchies and republicks whereof we meet so many accounts in ancient story, and with those at present in most parts of Europe. I have considered our religion, established here by the legislature soon after the Reformation. I have likewise examined the genius and disposition of the people under that reasonable freedom they possess. Then I have turned my reflections upon those two great divisions of whig and tory (which some way or other take in the whole kingdom) with the principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another. From all this, I endeavour to determine, from which side her present majesty may reasonably hope for most security to her person and government; and to which, she ought in prudence to trust the adminstration of her affairs. If these two rivals were really no more than parties, according to the common acceptation of the word, I should agree with those politicians, who think a prince descends from his dignity, by putting himself at the

the head of either; and that his wisest course is to keep them in a balance, raising or depressing either, as it best suits with his designs. But when the visible interest of his crown and kingdom lies on one side; and when the other is but a faction, raised and strengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with false representations of things; he ought in prudence to take the first opportunity of opening his subjects eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those who are for preserving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

This was certainly our case: for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the whigs to make up, strictly speaking, a national party; being patched up of heterogeneous inconsistent parts, whom* nothing served to unite, but the common interest of sharing in the spoil and plunder of the people; the present dread of their adversaries, by whom they† apprehended to be called to an account; and that general conspiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and state, which, however, if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in pieces, as their predecessors did after they destroyed the monarchy and religion. For, how could a whig, who is against all discipline, agree with a presbyterian, who carries it higher than the papists themselves?

* Instead of *whom* it should have been *which*, as referring more immediately to *parts*. S.

† It should be—'by whom they apprehended *they should* be called to an account.' S.

How

How could a socinian adjust his models to either? or how could any of these cement with a deist, or freethinker, when they came to consult upon points of faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their systems of government; where some would have been for a king under the limitations of a duke of Venice; others for a Dutch republick; a third party for an aristocracy; and most of all for some new fabrick of their own contriving.

But, however, let us consider them as a party, and under those general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publickly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us examine those principles of the tories, which their adversaries allow them to profess, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to those professions: after which, let the reader judge which of these two parties a prince has most to fear; and whether her majesty did not consider the ease, the safety, and dignity of her person, the security of her crown, and the transmission of monarchy to her protestant successors, when she put her affairs into the present hands.

Suppose the matter were now entire; the queen to make her choice; and for that end should order the principles on both sides to be fairly laid before her. First, I conceive the whigs would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for crowded heads; that they allow the person of the prince may, upon many occasions, be resisted by arms; and they do not condemn the war raised against king Charles the first,

or own it to be a rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the prerogative to be yet sufficiently limited; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illustrious house of Hanover) to clip it still closer against the next reign; which, consequently, they would be glad to see done in the present: not to mention, that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to religion; their universal undisputed maxim is, that it ought to make no distinction at all among protestants: and in the word protestant, they include every body who is not a papist, and who will by an oath give security to the government. Union in discipline and doctrine, the offensive sin of schism, the notion of a church and a hierarchy, they laugh at, as foppery, cant, and priestcraft. They see no necessity at all that there should be a national faith; and what we usually call by that name, they only style "the religion of the magistrate*." Since the dissenters and we agree in the main, why should the difference of a few speculative points, or modes of dress incapacitate them from serving their prince and country, in a juncture, when we ought to have all hands up against the common enemy? and why should they be forced to take the sacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our posture; or indeed why compelled to receive

* See the Dean's "Thoughts on the Repeal of the Test," in vol. IX. N.

it

it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

These are the notions which most of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false colours, or complain of being misrepresented about. I have here placed them on purpose in the same light, which themselves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuse them of; and how inviting even these doctrines are for such a monarch to close with, as our law both statute and common understands a king of England to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other opinions, which most of their own writers justify, and which their universal practice has given a sanction to; they are no more than what a prince might reasonably expect, as the natural consequence of those avowed principles. For, when such persons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes will certainly lead them to violate that respect they ought to bear*; and at the same time their own want of duty to their sovereign, is largely made up, by exacting greater submissions to themselves, from their fellow-subjects; it being indisputably true, that the same principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with insolence, in the same proportion, as he affronts his superiors; as both prince and people have sufficiently felt from the late ministry.

Then, from their confessed notions of religion, as above related, I see no reason to wonder, why they countenanced not only all sorts of dissenters,

* It should be—'they ought to bear them.' S.

but

but the several gradations of freethinkers among us, all which are openly enrolled in their party; nor why they were so averse from the present established form of worship, which, by prescribing obedience to princes from the topick of conscience, would be sure to thwart all their schemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion as dangerous to the constitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring on all occasions the monied interest before the landed; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reasonableness and justice of it; and at the rate they went on, might in a little time have found a majority of representatives, fitly qualified to lay those heavy burdens on the rest of the nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are some motives, which might compel a prince under the necessity of affairs to deliver himself over to that party. They were said to possess the great bulk of cash, and consequently of credit, in the nation; and the heads of them had the reputation of presiding over those societies, who have the great direction of both; so that all applications for loans to the publick service, upon any emergency, must be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them, because in that case it was not to be doubted, that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all affairs, not only by shutting their own purses, but by endeavouring to sink credit, although

igh with some present imaginary loss to themes, only to show it was a creature of their own. From this summary of whig principles and disitions, we find what a prince may reasonably ar and hope from that party. Let us now very riefly consider the doctrines of the tories, which heir adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well-regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, so they think it next to impossible to alter that institution here, without involving our whole island in blood and desolation. They believe that the prerogative of a sovereign, ought at least to be held as sacred and inviolable as the rights of his people; if only for this reason, because, without a due share of power, he will not be able to protect them. They think, that by many known laws of this realm, both statute and common, neither the person, nor lawful authority of the prince, ought upon any pretence whatsoever to be resisted or disobeyed. Their sentiments in relation to the church are known enough, and will not be controverted, being just the reverse to what I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the whigs upon that article.

But here I must likewise deal impartially too; and add one principle as a characteristick of the tories, which has much discouraged some princes from making use of them in affairs. Give the whigs but power enough to insult their sovereign, engross his favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their fellow subjects; they presently grow into good humour and good language toward the crown; profess they will stand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rude-

nesses

nesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the world that there never was so gracious a monarch. But to the shame of the tories it must be confessed, that nothing of all this has been ever observed in them; in or out of favour, you see no alteration, farther than a little cheerfulness or cloud in their countenances; the highest employments can add nothing to their loyalty; but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expressions of love and duty, are in all conditions exactly the same.

Having thus impartially stated the avowed principle of whig and tory, let the reader determine as he pleases, to which of these two a wise prince may, with most safety to himself and the publick, trust his person and his affairs: and whether it were rashness or prudence in her majesty, to make those changes in the ministry, which have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.

NUMBER XXXVII.

THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1711.

Tres species tam dissimiles, tria talia texta,
Una dies dedit exitio ———

Such different forms of various threads combin'd,
One day destroy'd in common ruin join'd.

I WRITE this paper for the sake of the dissenters, whom I take to be the most spreading branch of the whig party, that professes Christianity; and the only one that seems to be zealous for any particular system of it; the bulk of those we call the low church, being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point; and the other subdivisions having not yet taken either the Old or the New Testament into their scheme. By the dissenters therefore it will easily be understood that I mean the presbyterians, as they include the sects of anabaptists, independents, and others, which have been melted down into them since the restoration. This sect, in order to make itself national, having gone so far as to raise a rebellion, murder their king, destroy monarchy and the church, was afterward broken in pieces by its own divisions; which made way for the king's return from his exile. However the zealous among them did still entertain hopes of recovering the dominion of grace: whereof I have read a remarkable passage in a book published about the year 1661, and written

written by one of their own side. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend asked him, whether he thought the cause would revive? He answered, The cause is in the bosom of Christ; and as sure as Christ rose from the dead, so sure will the cause revive also. And therefore the nonconformists were strictly watched, and restrained by penal laws, during the reign of king Charles the second; the court and kingdom looking on them as a faction, ready to join in any design against the government in church or state. And surely this was reasonable enough, while so many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached against both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The nonconformists were then exactly upon the same foot with our nonjurors now, whom we double-tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches, without thinking ourselves possessed with a persecuting spirit; because we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, should altogether silence the dissenters complaints of persecution under king Charles the second; or make them shew us wherein they differed at that time, from what our jacobites are now.

Their inclinations to the church were soon discovered, when king James the second succeeded to the crown; with whom they unanimously joined in its ruin, to revenge themselves for that restraint they had most justly suffered in the foregoing reign; not from the persecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would suggest, but the prudence and caution of the legislature. The same indulgence against law was made use of by them

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and the papists; and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common interest.

But the revolution happening soon after, served to wash away the memory of the rebellion; upon which the run against popery was no doubt as just and seasonable, as that of fanaticism after the restoration: and the dread of popery being then our latest danger, and consequently the most fresh upon our spirits, all mouths were open against that; the dissenters were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and king's murder were now no longer a reproach; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durst call it a rebellion, was a jacobite and a friend to France. This was the more unexpected, because, the revolution being wholly brought about by church of England hands, they hoped one good consequence of it would be, the relieving us from the encroachments of dissenters, as well as those of papists; since both had equally confederated toward our ruin; and therefore, when the crown was new settled, it was hoped at least that the rest of the constitution would be restored. But this affair took a very different turn: the dissenters had just made a shift to save a tide, and join with the prince of Orange, when they found all was desperate with their protector king James; and observing a party then forming against the old principles in church and state, under the name of whigs and low churchmen, they listed themselves of it, where they ever since continued. It is, therefore, upon the foot they now are, that I would apply myself to them, and desire they would consider the different circumstances

cumstances at present, from what they were under when they began their designs against the church and monarchy, about seventy years ago. At that juncture they made up the body of the party; and whosoever joined with them from principles of revenge, discontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to shelter under their denomination; united heartily in the pretences of a farther and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the great work (as the cant was then) that God was about to do in these nations; received the systems of doctrine and discipline prescribed by the Scots, and readily took the covenant; so that there appeared no division among them, till after the common enemy was subdued.

But now their case is quite otherwise: and I can hardly think it worth being of a party, upon the terms they have been received of late years. For, suppose the whole faction should at length succeed in their design of destroying the church; are they so weak as to imagine, that the new modelling of religion would be put into their hands? would their brethren, the low churchmen and free-thinkers, submit to their discipline, their synods, and their classes; and divide the lands of bishops, or deans and chapters, among them? how can they help observing, that their allies, instead of pretending more sanctity than other men, are some of them for levelling all religion, and the rest for abolishing it? Is it not manifest, that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the same manner as they were by king James the second; made instruments to ruin the church; not for their own sakes, but, under a

pretended project of universal freedom in opinion, to advance the dark designs of those who employ them? for, excepting the antimonarchical principle, and a few false notions about liberty, I see but little agreement between them; and even in these, I believe, it would be impossible to contrive a frame of government that would please them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But however, to be sure the presbyterian institution would never obtain. For, suppose they should, in imitation of their predecessors, propose to have no king but our Saviour Christ; the whole clan of freethinkers would immediately object, and refuse his authority. Neither would their lowchurch brethren use them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, wherever they are suffered to preside. So that upon the whole, I do not see, as their present circumstances stand, where the dissenters can find better quarter than from the church of England.

Besides, I leave it to their consideration, whether, with all their zeal against the church, they ought not to show a little decency; and how far it consists with their reputation to act in concert with such confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the present most christian king, to assist the Turk against the emperor: policy and reasons of state were not allowed sufficient excuses, for taking part with an infidel against a believer. It is one of the dissenters quarrels against the church, that she is not enough reformed from popery; yet they boldly entered into a league with papists and a popish prince to destroy her. They profess much sanctity, and

object

object against the wicked lives of some of our members; yet they have been long, and still continue, in strict combination with libertines and atheists to contrive our ruin. What if the Jews should multiply, and become a formidable party among us? Would the dissenters join in alliance with them likewise, because they agree already in some general principles, and because the Jews are allowed to be a stiffnecked and rebellious people?

It is the part of wise men to conceal their passions, when they are not in circumstances of exerting them to purpose: the arts of getting power and preserving indulgence are very different. For the former, the reasonable hopes of the dissenters seem to be at an end; their comrades, the whigs and freethinkers, are just in a condition proper to be forsaken; and the parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a cause to be exhausted * and worn out, as that of the whigs in general seems at present to be: the nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed interest, as for a man of sixty to talk of entering on a new scene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumstances and new men must arise, as well as new occasions, which are not likely to happen in our time. So that the dissenters have no game left at present, but to secure their indulgence: in order to which, I will be so bold as to offer them some advice.

* 'It sometimes happens for a cause to be exhausted,' &c. A vulgar ungrammatical idiom; it should be—'it sometimes happens that a cause is exhausted,' &c. S.

First, that until some late proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, so great a majority as there is now against them; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies; but disperse themselves, and lie dormant against some better opportunity. I have shown they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed; and they will certainly lose none by its fall, unless through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the queen; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined interest of those who have used her so ill; and by a due respect to the persons she is pleased to trust at present with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when struggling can do them no good, and may possibly hurt them, what is left, but to be silent and passive?

Secondly, Although there be no law (beside that of God Almighty) against occasional conformity, it would be prudence in the dissenters to use it as tenderly as they can: for, beside the infamous hypocrisy of the thing itself, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy necessary. And after all they have said to justify themselves in this point, it still continues hard to conceive, how those consciences can pretend to be scrupulous, upon which an employment has more power, than the love of unity.

In the last place, I am humbly of opinion, that the dissenters would do well to drop that lesson they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehensions, that the tories are in the interest of the pretender, and would be ready

ready to embrace the first opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worst grace in the world that they offer to join in the cry upon this article: as if those, who alone stood in the gap against all the encroachments of popery and arbitrary power, are not more likely to keep out both, than a set of schismaticks; who, to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meanest compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate prince, to fall upon such measures, as must at last have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

P. S. I wish those who give themselves the trouble to write to the Examiner, would consider whether what they send would be proper for such a paper to take notice of. I had one letter last week, written as I suppose by a divine, to desire I would offer some reasons against a bill now before the parliament for ascertaining the tithe of hops; from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, especially the poorer vicars. If it be as he says, (and he seems to argue very reasonably upon it) the convocation now sitting will, no doubt, upon due application, represent the matter to the house of commons; and he may expect all justice and favour from that great body, who have already appeared so tender of their rights.

A gentleman likewise, who has sent me several letters relating to personal hardships he received from some of the late ministry, is advised to publish a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.

NUMBER XXXVIII.

THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1711.

Semper causæ eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa.

We are always more moved at the causes of events, than at the events themselves.

I AM glad to observe that several among the whigs have begun very much to change their language of late. The style is now among the reasonable part of them, when they meet a man in business, or a member of parliament; well, gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we shall no longer have any pretence to complain: they find, it seems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in the pretender, nor any preparatory steps toward it. They read no enslaving votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the subject. The indulgence to scrupulous consciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preserved, and not the least whisper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to support the war; supplies cheerfully granted, and funds readily subscribed to, in spight of the little arts made use of to discredit them. The just resentments of some, which are laudable in themselves, and to which, at another juncture, it might be proper to give way, have been softened or diverted by the calmness of others; so that, upon the article of present management, I do not see how any objection of weight can well be raised.

However,

However, our adversaries still allege, that this great success was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable view; that in publick affairs we ought least of all others to judge by events; that the attempt of changing a ministry during the difficulties of a long war, was rash and inconsiderate; that if the queen were disposed, by her inclinations, or from any personal dislike, for such a change, it might have been done with more safety in a time of peace; that if it had miscarried by any of those incidents, which in all appearance might have intervened, the consequences would perhaps have ruined the whole confederacy; and therefore, however it has now succeeded, the experiment was too dangerous to try*.

But this is what we can by no means allow them. We never will admit rashness, or chance, to have produced all this harmony and order. It is visible to the world, that the several steps toward this change were slowly taken, and with the utmost caution. The movers observed as they went on, how matters would bear; and advanced no farther at first, than so as they might be able to stop, or go back, if circumstances were not mature. Things were grown to such a height, that it was no longer the question, whether a person who aimed at an employment, were a whig or a tory; much less, whether he had merit, or proper abilities, for what he pretended to: he must owe his preferment only to the favourites; and the crown was so far from nominating, that they would not allow it a negative. This the queen was resolved

* It should be—'to be tried.' S.

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no longer to endure; and began to break into their prescription, by bestowing one or two places of consequence, without consulting her ephori, after they had fixed them for others, and concluded as usual, that all their business was to signify their pleasure to her majesty. But, although the persons the queen had chosen, were such, as no objection could be well raised against upon the score of party, yet the oligarchy took the alarm; their sovereign authority was, it seems, called in question; they grew into anger and discontent, as if their undoubted rights were violated. All former obligations to their sovereign now became cancelled; and they put themselves upon the foot of the people, who are hardly used after the most eminent services.

I believe all men, who know any thing in politicks, will agree, that a prince thus treated by those he has most confided in, and perpetually loaded with his favours, ought to extricate himself as soon as possible; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power; because, from the monstrous encroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition, he cannot tell how long it may continue to be so. And it will be found, upon inquiring into history, that most of those princes, who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune to the neglect of earlier remedies; deferring to struggle, until they were quite sunk.

The whigs are every day cursing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and insatiable covetousness of a certain person, as the cause of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that

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one single removal might have set all things right. But the interests of that single person, were found, upon experience, so complicated and woven with the rest, by love, by awe, by marriage, by alliance, that they would rather confound Heaven and earth, than dissolve such a union.

I have always heard and understood, that a king of England, possessed of his peoples' hearts, at the head of a free parliament, and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that such a monarch ought to do; and pursued the real interest of himself and his kingdom. Will they allow her majesty to be in those circumstances at present? and was it not plain, by the addresses sent from all parts of the island, and by the visible disposition of the people, that such a parliament would undoubtedly be chosen? And so it proved, without the court's using any art to influence elections.

What people then are these in a corner, to whom the constitution must truckle? If the whole nation's credit cannot supply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legislature to a few retailers of money, it is high time we should sue for a peace. What new maxims are these, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise institution would ever allow! must our laws from henceforward pass the Bank and East India Company, or have their royal assent, before they are in force?

To hear some of those worthy reasoners talking of credit, that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious,

capricious, you would think they were describing a lady troubled with vapours or the colick, to be removed only by a course of steel, or swallowing a bullet. By the narrowness of their thoughts, one would imagine they conceived the world to be no wider than Exchange alley. It is probable they may have such a sickly dame among them; and it is well if she has no worse diseases, considering what hands she passes through. But the national credit is of a another complexion; of sound health, and an even temper; her life and existence being a quintessence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom: and we find these money politicians, after all their noise, to be of the same opinion, by the court they paid her, when she lately appeared to them in the form of a lottery.

As to that mighty errour in politicks they charge upon the queen, for changing her ministry in the height of a war, I suppose it is only looked upon as an errour under a whiggish administration: otherwise the late king had much to answer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late ministry of famous memory, was brought in during the present war; only with this circumstance, that two or three of the chief did first change their own principles, and then took in suitable companions.

But, however, I see no reason why the tories should not value their wisdom by events, as well as the whigs. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, rash counsel, than that of altering the coin at the juncture it was done; yet the prudence of the undertaking was sufficiently justified by the

the success. Perhaps it will be said, that the attempt was necessary, because the whole species of money was so grievously clipped and counterfeit: and is not her majesty's authority as sacred as her coin? and has not that been most scandalously clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too?

It is another grievous complaint of the whigs, that their late friends, and the whole party, are treated with abundance of severity in print, and in particular by the Examiner. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of power, hated by the people, and out of all hope of establishing themselves, their infirmities should be so often displayed, in order to render them yet more odious to mankind. This is what they employ their writers to set forth in their papers of the week; and it is humorous enough to observe one page taken up in railing at the Examiner, for his invectives against a discarded ministry; and the other side filled with the falsest and vilest abuses, against those who are now in the highest power and credit with their sovereign, and whose least breath would scatter them in silence and obscurity. However, although I have indeed often wondered to see so much licentiousness taken and connived at, and am sure it would not be suffered in any other country of Christendom; yet I never once invoked the assistance of the gaol or pillory, which, upon the least provocation, was the usual style during their tyranny. There has not passed a week these twenty years, without some malicious paper scattered in every coffee-house by the emissaries of that party, whether it

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were down or up. I believe they will not pretend to object the same thing to us: nor do I remember any constant weekly paper with reflections on the late ministry or junto. They have many weak defenceless parts; they have not been used to a regular attack: and therefore it is that they are so ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn; so that they complain more of a few months truths from us, than we did of all their scandal and malice for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear observing upon this occasion, that those worthy authors I am speaking of, seem to me not fairly to represent the sentiments of their party; who, in disputing with us, do generally give up several of the late ministry, and freely own many of their failings. They confess the monstrous debt upon the navy to have been caused by most scandalous mismanagement; they allow the insolence of some, the avarice of others, to have been insupportable: but these gentlemen are most liberal in their praises to those persons, and upon those very articles, where their wisest friends give up the point. They gravely tell us, that such a one was the most faithful servant that ever any prince had: another, the most dutiful; a third, the most generous; a fourth, of the greatest integrity: so that I look upon these champions rather as retained by a cabal than a party; which I desire the reasonable men among them would please to consider.

NUMBER XXXIX.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26, 1711.

Indignum est in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur, discedi a legibus.

It is shameful and unworthy in a state, whose support and preservation is founded on laws, that the laws should be rendered useless and evaded.

I HAVE been often considering how it comes to pass, that the dexterity of mankind in evil, should always outgrow, not only the prudence and caution of private persons, but the continual expedience of the wisest laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to possess a greater share of natural wit or genius, than an honest man. I have known very notable sharpers at play, who, upon other occasions, were as great dunces as human shape can well allow; and I believe the same might be observed among the other knots of thieves and pick-pockets about this town. The proposition however is certainly true, and to be confirmed by a hundred instances. A scrivener, an attorney, a stockjobber, and many other retailers of fraud, shall not only be able to overreach others much wiser than themselves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made against them. I suppose the reason of this may be, that as the aggressor is said to have generally the advantage of the defender, so the

makers of the law, which is to defend our rights, have usually not so much industry or vigour, as those whose interest leads them to attack it. Besides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the publick for their justice and virtue; neither do those who act upon such principles expect any recompense until the next world; whereas fraud, where it succeeds gives present pay; and this is allowed the greatest spur imaginable both to labour and invention. When a law is made to stop some growing evil, the wits of those whose interest it is to break it with secrecy or impunity, are immediately at work: and even among those who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid, what they would not be thought to violate. They desire to reap the advantage, if possible, without the shame, or at least without the danger. This art is what I take that dextrous race of men, sprung up soon after the revolution, to have studied with great application ever since; and to have arrived at great perfection in. According to the doctrine of some Romish casuists, they have found out *quam propè ad peccatum sine peccato possint accedere;* they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will just forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be sufficient to set you right, and put something in your pocket besides: how much to a penny you may safely cheat the queen, whether forty, fifty, or sixty per cent. according to the station you are in, and the dispositions of the persons in office below and above you. They have

have computed the price you may securely take or give for a place, or what part of the salary you ought to reserve: they can discreetly distribute five hundred pounds in a small borough, without any danger from the statutes against bribing at elections. They can manage a bargain for an office by a third, fourth, or fifth hand; so that you shall not know whom to accuse: they can win a thousand guineas at play in spite of the dice, and send away the loser satisfied. They can pass the most exorbitant accounts, overpay the creditor with half his demands, and sink the rest.

It would be endless to relate, or rather indeed impossible to discover, the several arts, which curious men have found out to enrich themselves, by defrauding the publick, in defiance of the law. The military men, both by sea and land, have equally cultivated this most useful science: neither has it been altogether neglected by the other sex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an instance, that would make ours blush to be so far outdone.

Besides, to confess the truth, our laws themselves are extremely defective in many articles, which I take to be one ill effect of our best possession, liberty. Some years ago the ambassador of a great prince* was arrested, and outrages committed on his person in our streets, without any possibility of redress from Westminster-hall, or the prerogative of the sovereign; and the legislature was forced to provide a remedy against the like evils in time to come. A commissioner of

* Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy. N.

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the stamped paper was lately discovered to have notoriously cheated the publick of great sums, for many years, by counterfeiting the stamps, which the law has made capital: but the aggravation of his crime, proved to be the cause that saved his life; and that additional heightening circumstance of betraying his trust, was found to be a legal defence. I am assured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at Portsmouth, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot, by any law now in force, be punished in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it. Nay, what is almost incredible, had Guiscard * survived his detestable attempt upon Mr. Harley's person, all the inflaming circumstances of the fact would not have sufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have punished him with death; and the publick must have lain under this dilemma, either to condemn him by a law *ex post facto*, (which would have been of dangerous consequence, and form an ignominious precedent) or undergo the mortification to see the greatest villain upon earth escape unpunished, to the infinite triumph and delight of popery and faction. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we consider, that of all the insolences offered to the queen since the act of indemnity, (at least that ever came to my ears) I can hardly instance above two or three, which by the letter of the law could amount to high treason.

From these defects in our laws, and the want of some discretionary power, safely lodged, to

* He died of the wounds which he received. H.

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exert upon emergencies; as well as from the great acquirements of able men to elude the penalties of those laws they break, it is no wonder that the injuries done to the publick are so seldom redressed. But besides, no individual suffers by any wrong he does to the commonwealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by doing it. There are seven or eight millions, who contribute to the loss, while the whole gain is sunk among a few. The damage suffered by the publick, is not so immediately or heavily felt by particular persons; and the zeal of prosecutions is apt to drop and be lost among numbers.

But imagine a set of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game visibly their own, and by consequence, acting with great security; may not these be sometimes tempted to forget their caution, by length of time, by excess of avarice and ambition, by the insolence or violence of their nature, or perhaps by a mere contempt for their adversaries? may not such motives as these put them often upon actions directly against the law, such as no evasions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing interest, whenever they are out of power? it is answered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuse the late ministry their due praises; who, foreseeing a storm, provided for their own safety by two admirable expedients, by which, with great prudence, they have escaped the punishments due to pernicious counsels, and corrupt managements. The first was to procure, under pretences hardly specious, a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The

second was yet more refined: suppose, for instance, a counsel is to be pursued, which is necessary to carry on the dangerous designs of a prevailing party, to preserve them in power, to gratify the unmeasurable appetites of a few leaders civil and military, although by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation; this counsel, desperate in itself, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an address, which makes it look like the sense of the nation. Under that shelter they carry on their work, and lie secure against after-reckonings.

I must be so free to tell my meaning in this; that among other things, I understand it of the address made to the queen about three years ago, to desire that her majesty would not consent to a peace, without the entire restitution of Spain: a proceeding, which, to people abroad, must look like the highest strain of temerity, folly, and gasconade. But we at home, who allow the promoters of that advice to be no fools, can easily comprehend the depth and mystery of it. They were assured by this means to pin down the war upon us; consequently, to increase their own power and wealth, and multiply difficulties on the queen and kingdom, until they had fixed their party too firmly to be shaken, whenever they should find themselves disposed to reverse their address, and give us leave to wish for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monstrous step in politicks, I would ask him, what we must do in case we find it impossible to recover Spain? Those among the whigs, who believe a God, will confess that the

events

events of war lie in his hands; and the rest of them, who acknowledge no such power, will allow, that fortune has too great a share in the good or ill success of military actions, to let a wise man reason upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If Providence should think fit to refuse success to our arms, with how ill a grace, with what shame and confusion shall we be obliged to recant that precipitate address, unless the world will be so charitable to consider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes; and that by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumstances, it is very possible for our island to be represented sometimes by those, who have the least pretensions. So little truth or justice there is in what some pretend to advance, that the actions of former senates ought always to be treated with respect by the latter; that those assemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another; by which argument, the parliament that began the rebellion against king Charles I. voted his trial and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with respect.

But to return from this digression; it is very plain, that considering the defectiveness of our laws, the variety of cases, the weakness of the prerogative, the power or cunning of ill-designing men, it is possible that many great abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished; especially if we add to this, that some inquiries might probably involve those, whom upon other accounts it is not thought convenient to disturb. Therefore it is very false reasoning, especially in the management of publick affairs,

to argue that men are innocent, because the law has not pronounced them guilty.

I am apt to think it was to supply such defects as these, that satire was first introduced into the world; whereby those, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of punishment, were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be withheld by the shame of having their crimes exposed to open view in the strongest colours, and themselves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by such hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with; but, next to taming or binding a savage animal, the best service you can do the neighbourhood, is to give them warning either to arm themselves, or not come in its way.

Could I have hoped for any signs of remorse from the leaders of that faction, I should very gladly have changed my style, and forgot, or passed by, their million of enormities. But they are every day more fond of discovering their impotent zeal and malice: witness their conduct in the city about a fortnight ago, which had no other end imaginable, beside that of perplexing our affairs, and endeavouring to make things desperate, that themselves may be thought necessary. While they continue in this frantic mood, I shall not forbear to treat them as they deserve; that is to say, as the inveterate, irreconcileable enemies to our country, and its constitution.

NUMBER XL.

THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

——— in vain
The Gracchi of sedition will complain.

THERE have been certain topicks of reproach liberally bestowed, for some years past, by the whigs and tories, upon each other. We charge the former, with a design of destroying fanaticism and introducing freethinking in its stead. We accuse them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the present form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or some new scheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other side, their clamours against us may be summed up in those three formidable words, Popery, Arbitrary Power, and the Pretender. Our accusations against them we endeavour to make good by certain overt acts; such as their perpetually abusing the whole body of the clergy; their declared contempt for the very order of priesthood; their aversion against episcopacy; the publick encouragement and patronage they give to Tindal, Toland, and other atheistical writers; their appearing as professed advocates retained by the dissenters, excusing their separation, and laying the guilt of it to the obstinacy of the church; their frequent

endeavours

endeavours to repeal the test, and their setting up the indulgence to scrupulous consciences, as a point of greater importance than the established worship. The regard they bear to our monarchy, has appeared, by their openly ridiculing the martyrdom of king Charles I. in their calves-head clubs, their common discourses, and their pamphlets; their denying the unnatural war raised against that prince, to have been a rebellion; their justifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their industry in publishing and spreading seditious and republican tracts, such as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney of Government, and many others; their endless lopping of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her majesty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce popery, arbitrary power, and the pretender, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear: however, those important words having, by dextrous management, been found of mighty service to their cause, although applied with little colour either of reason or justice; I have been considering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to popery, which is the first of these; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any set of men among us, except the professors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here; but the question is, whether the principles and practices of us, or the whigs, be most likely to make way for it? It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the bosom of the

catholick

catholick church, one of the chief was to send jesuits, and other emissaries, in lay habits: who, personating tradesmen and mechanicks, should mix with the people, and under the pretence of a farther and purer reformation, endeavour to divide us into as many sects as possible; which would either put us under the necessity of returning to our old errours, to preserve peace at home; or, by our divisions, make way for some powerful neighbour, with the assistance of the pope's permission, and a consecrated banner, to convert and enslave us at once. If this has been reckoned good politicks, (and it was the best, the jesuit schools could invent) I appeal to any man, whether the whigs, for many years past, have not been employed in the very same work? They professed on all occasions, that they knew no reason why any one system of speculative opinions (as they term the doctrines of the church) should be established by law, more than another; or why employments should be confined to the religion of the magistrate, and that called the church established. The grand maxim they laid down was, that no man, for the sake of a few notions and ceremonies, under the names of doctrine and discipline, should be denied the liberty of serving his country: as if places would go a begging unless brownists, familists, sweet-singers, quakers, anabaptists, and muggletonians, would take them off our hands.

I have been sometimes imagining this scheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to see half a dozen sweet-singers on the bench in their ermines, and two or three quakers

kers with their white staves at court. I can only say, this project is the very counterpart of the late king James's design, which he took up as the best method for introducing his own religion, under the pretext of a universal liberty of conscience, and that no difference in religion should make any in his favour. Accordingly, to save appearances, he dealt some employments among dissenters of most denominations; and what he did was no doubt, in pursuance of the best advice he could get at home or abroad; but the church thought it the most dangerous step he could take for her destruction. It is true king James admitted papists among the rest, which the whigs would not: but this is sufficiently made up by a material circumstance, wherein they seem to have much out-done that prince, and to have carried their liberty of conscience to a higher point, having granted it to all the classes of freethinkers, (which the nice conscience of a popish prince would not give him leave to do) and were therein mightily overseen; because it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow step from atheism, to the other extreme, superstition. So that upon the whole, whether the whigs had any real design of bringing in popery or not, it is very plain that they took the most effectual step toward it; and if the jesuits had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter scholars.

Their second accusation is, that we encourage and maintain arbitrary power in princes; and promote enslaving doctrines among the people. This

This they go about to prove by instances; producing the particular opinions of certain divines in king Charles II's reign, a decree of Oxford university, and some few writers since the revolution. What they mean is the principle of passive obedience and non-resistance, which those who affirm, did I believe never intend should include arbitrary power. However, although I am sensible that it is not reckoned prudent in a dispute to make any concessions, without the last necessity; yet I do agree, that in my own private opinion, some writers did carry that tenet of passive obedience to a height, which seemed hardly consistent with the liberties of a country, whose laws can neither be enacted nor repealed, without the consent of the whole people: I mean not those, who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legislature; but such as fix it entirely in the prince's person. This last has, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the whigs quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abstracted from their senate.

By thus freely declaring my own sentiments of passive obedience, it will at least appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I upon any occasion pretend to speak their sentiments, but my own. The majority of the two houses, and the present ministry (if those be a party) seem to me in all their proceedings to pursue the real interest of church and state; and if I should happen to differ from particular persons among them, in a single notion about government, I suppose they will not upon that account explode me and my

paper,

paper. However, as an answer, once for all, to the tedious scurrilities of those idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write, I must here inform them, that their censure is an effect of their principles. The present ministry are under no necessity of employing prostitute pens, they have no dark designs to promote by advancing heterodox opinions.

But (to return) suppose two or three private divines under king Charles the second, did a little overstrain the doctrine of passive obedience to princes; some allowance might be given to the memory of that unnatural rebellion against his father, and the dismal consequences of resistance. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the Revolution, that this doctrine was never designed to introduce arbitrary power.

I look upon the whigs and dissenters to be exactly of the same political faith; let us therefore see, what share each of them had in advancing arbitrary power. It is manifest, that the fanaticks made Cromwell the most absolute tyrant in Christendom. The rump abolished the house of lords, the army abolished the rump, and by this army of saints he governed. The dissenters took liberty of conscience and employments from the late king James, as an acknowledgment of his dispensing power: which makes a king of England as absolute as the Turk. The whigs, under the late king, perpetually declared for keeping up a standing army in times of peace; which has, in all ages, been the first and great step to the ruin of liberty. They were besides

discovering

discovering every day their inclinations to destroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies against the bishops sitting in the house of peers; which was exactly copying after their predecessors of 1641. I need not say, their real intentions were to make the king absolute; but whatever be the designs of innovating men, they usually end in a tyranny; as we may see by a hundred examples in Greece, and in the later commonwealths of Italy mentioned by Machiavel.

In the third place, the whigs accuse us of a design to bring in the pretender; and, to give it a greater air of probability, they suppose the queen to be a party in this design; which, however, is no very extraordinary supposition in those, who have advanced such singular paradoxes concerning Gregg and Guiscard. Upon this article their charge is general, without ever offering to produce an instance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no paradox, that if ever he be brought in, the whigs are his men. For first, it is an undoubted truth, that a year or two after the Revolution, several leaders of that party had their pardons sent them by the late king James; and had entered upon measures to restore him, on account of some disobligation they received from king William. Besides, I would ask, whether those who were under the greatest ties of gratitude to king James, are not at this day become the most zealous whigs? and of what party those are now, who kept a long correspondence with St. Germains?

It is likewise very observable of late, that the whigs,

whigs, upon all occasions, profess their belief of the pretender's being no impostor, but a real prince, born of the late queen's body; which, whether it be true or false, is very unseasonably advanced, considering the weight such an opinion must have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the pretender himself puts his chief hopes in the friendship he expects from the dissenters and whigs, by his choice to invade the kingdom, when the latter were most in credit: and he had reason to count upon the former from the gracious treatment they received from his supposed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But farther, what could be more consistent with the whiggish notion of a revolution principle, than to bring in the pretender? A revolution principle, as their writings and discourses have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually disposing men to revolutions; and this is suitable to the famous saying of a great whig, that the more revolutions the better: which, how odd a maxim soever in appearance, I take to be the true characteristic of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet after certain revolutions he lies down to rest: but heads under the dominion of the moon, are for perpetual changes, and perpetual revolutions: besides, the whigs owe all their wealth to wars and revolutions; like the girl at Bartholomew fair, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with swords in her hands.

To conclude, the whigs have a natural faculty of bringing in pretenders, and will therefore probably

bably endeavour to bring in the great one at last. How many pretenders to wit, honour, nobility, politicks, have they brought in these last twenty years. In short, they have been sometimes able to procure a majority of pretenders in parliament; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, except a pretender at their head.

NUMBER XLI.

THURSDAY, MAY 10, 1711.

Dos est magna parentum virtus.

The virtue of parents is a large dowry to their children.

I TOOK up a paper * some days ago in a coffeehouse; and if the correctness of the style, and a superiour spirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine I had been reading an Examiner. In this paper there were several important propositions advanced. For instance, "that Providence raised up Mr. Harley to be an instrument of great good, in a very critical juncture, when it was much wanted. That his very enemies acknowledge his eminent abilities, and distinguished

* The Speaker's congratulation of Mr. Harley in the name of the house, on his escape and recovery. See Vol III. p. 359. N.

merit,

merit, by their unwearied and restless endeavours against his person and reputation; that they have had an inveterate malice against both; that he has been wonderfully preserved from some unparalleled attempts;" with more to the same purpose. I immediately computed, by rules of arithmetick, that in the last cited words there was something more intended than the attempt of Guiscard, which, I think, can properly pass but for one of the some. And although I dare not pretend to guess the author's meaning; yet the expression allows such a latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, most readers, both whig and tory, have agreed with me, that this plural number must in all probability, among other facts, take in the business of Gregg.

See now the difference of styles. Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occasion; instead of saying how Mr. Harley "was treated by some persons and preserved from some unparalleled attempts," I should, with intolerable bluntness and ill manners, have told a formal story of a committee sent to a condemned criminal in Newgate, to bribe him with pardon, on condition he would swear high treason against his master, who discovered his correspondence and secured his person, when a certain grave politician had given him warning to make his escape: and by this means I should have drawn a whole swarm of hedge-writers, to exhaust their catalogue of scurrilities against me, as a liar and slanderer. But, with submission to the author of that forementioned pape, I think he has carried that expression to the utmost it will bear; for, after all this notice, I know

know of but two attempts against Mr. Harley, that can really be called unparalleled, which are those aforesaid of Gregg and Guiscard; and as to the rest, I will engage to parrallel them from the story of Cataline, and others I could produce.

However, I cannot but observe, with infinite pleasure, that a great part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with so many decent epithets, has been sufficiently confirmed at several times, by the resolutions of one or the other house of parliament. I may therefore now say, I hope, with good authority, that there have been some unparalleled attempts against Mr. Harley; that the late ministry were justly to blame in some managements, which occasioned the unfortunate battle of Almanza, and the disappointment at Toulon; that the publick has been grievously wronged by most notorious frauds during the whig administration; that those who advised the bringing in the Palatines, were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly passed their accounts for a great part of thirty-five millions, and ought not to be trusted in such employments any more. Perhaps, in a little time, I may venture to affirm some other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the same vouchers. And perhaps also, if it had not been so busy a period, instead of one Examiner, the late ministry might have had above four hundred, each of whose little fingers, would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of Neptune's threat to the winds:

Quos

*Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus.**

VIRG. ÆN. I. 139.

Thus, when the sons of Æolus had almost sunk the ship with the tempest they raised, it was necessary to smooth the ocean, and secure the vessel, instead of pursuing the offenders.

But I observe the general expectation at present, instead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures who is to be punished for past miscarriages, seems bent upon the rewards intended to those, who have been so highly instrumental in rescuing our constitution from its late dangers. It is the observation of Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, that his eminent services had raised a general opinion of his being designed by the emperor for prætor of Britain: *Nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur;* and then he adds, *Non semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit.* The judgment of a wise prince, and a general disposition of the people, do often point at the same person; and sometimes the popular wishes do often foretel the reward intended for some superiour merit. Thus, among several deserving persons, there are two, whom the publick vogue has in a peculiar manner singled out, as designed very soon to receive the choicest marks of the royal favour; one of them to be placed in a very high station, and both to increase the number of our nobility†. This, I say, is the general conjecture;

* Whom I—but first 'tis fit the billows to refrain.

DRYDEN.

† Harley and St. John. H.

for

for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled; since it is enough for their honour, that the nation thinks them worthy of the greatest rewards.

Upon this occasion, I cannot but take notice, that of all the heresies in politicks profusely scattered by the partisans of the late administration, none ever displeased me more, or seemed to have more dangerous consequences to monarchy than that pernicious talent, so much affected, of discovering a contempt for birth, family, and ancient nobility. All the threadbare topicks of poets and orators were displayed to discover to us, that merit and virtue were the only nobility; and that the advantages of blood could not make a knave or a fool either honest or wise. Most popular commotions we read of in the histories of Greece and Rome, took their rise from unjust quarrels to the nobles; and in the latter, the plebeians encroachments on the partricians, were the first cause of their ruin.

Suppose there be nothing but opinion in the difference of blood; every body knows, that authority is very much founded on opinion. But surely that difference is not wholly imaginary. The advantages of a liberal education, of choosing the best companions to converse with, not being under the necessity of practising little mean tricks by a scanty allowance, the enlarging of thought, and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of ancestors inciting to great and good actions; these are usually some of the opportunities that fall in the way of those, who are born of what we call the better families:

and allowing genius to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their side. Nay, we may observe in some, who, by the appearance of merit, or favour of fortune, have risen to great stations from an obscure birth, that they have still retained some sordid vices of their parentage or education; either insatiable avarice, or ignominious falsehood and corruption.

To say the truth, the great neglect of education in several noble families, whose sons are suffered to pass the most improvable seasons of their youth in vice and idleness, have too much lessened their reputation: but even this misfortune we owe, among all the rest, to that whiggish practice of reviling the universities, under the pretence of their instilling pedantry, narrow principles, and high church doctrines.

I would not be thought to undervalue merit and virtue, wherever they are to be found; but will allow them capable of the highest dignities in a state, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, though it be found in a dunghill; but however, that is not the most probable place to search for it. Nay, I will go farther, and admit, that a man of quality without merit, is just so much the worse for his quality; which at once sets his vices in a more publick view, and reproaches him for them. But, on the other side, I doubt those who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating personal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which nobody will dispute with them about; whereas they cannot, without impudence and folly,

folly, pretend to be nobly born; because this is a secret too easily discovered; for no men's parentage is so nicely inquired into as that of assuming upstarts, especially when they affect to make it better than it is, (as they often do) or behave themselves with insolence.

But whatever may be the opinion of others upon this subject, whose philosophical scorn for blood and families reaches even to those that are royal, or perhaps took its rise from a whiggish contempt of the latter; I am pleased to find two such instances of extraordinary merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, has been held in veneration by all wise polite states, both ancient and modern. And as much a foppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great place or wealth from mean originals, than their mighty solicitude to convince the world, that they are not so low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out, by some strained genealogy, that they have a remote alliance with better families. Cromwell himself was pleased with the impudence of a flatterer, who undertook to prove him descended from a branch of the royal stem. I know a citizen who adds or alters a letter in his name, with every plum he acquires; he now wants only the change of a vowel * to be allied to a sovereign prince in Italy; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a mistake of the graver upon his tombstone.

* Sir Henry Furnese of the Farnese family in Italy. H.

When I am upon this subject of nobility, I am sorry for the occasion given to me to mention the loss of a person who is so great an ornament to it, as the late lord president*: who began early to distinguish himself in the publick service, and passed through the highest employments of state, in the most difficult times, with great abilities and untainted honour. As he was of a good old age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from late infusions, but were instilled into him by his illustrious father, and other noble spirits, who had exposed their lives and fortunes for the royal martyr:

—Pulcherrima proles,
Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis.
VIRG. ÆN. VI. 648.

His first great action was, like Scipio, to defend his father when oppressed by numbers; and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a son, who upon the like occasion would have shown the same resolution. No man ever preserved his dignity better when he was out of power, nor showed more affability while he was in. To conclude, his character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is such as his nearest friends may safely trust to the most impartial pen; nor wants the least of that allowance, which, they say, is required for those who are dead.

* Earl of Rochester. H.

NUMBER XLII.

THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1711.

——— *Quem cur distringere coner,*
Tutus ab infestis latrionibus?

Safe it lies
Within the sheath, till thieves and villains rise.

I NEVER let slip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the present ministry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I first undertook this paper, I firmly resolved, that if ever I observed any gross neglect, abuse, or corruption in the publick management, which might give any just offence to reasonable people; I would take notice of it with that innocent boldness which becomes an honest man, and a true lover of his country; at the same time preserving the respect due to persons so highly entrusted by so wise and excellent a queen. I know not how such a liberty might have been resented; but I thank God there has been no occasion given me to exercise it; for I can safely affirm, that I have with the utmost rigour examined all the actions of the present ministry, as far as they fall under general cognizance, without being able to accuse them of one ill or mistaken step. Observing indeed some time ago, that

that seeds of dissension had been plentifully scattered from a certain corner, and fearing they began to rise and spread, I immediately writ a paper on the subject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required; but the prudence of those at the helm, soon prevented this growing evil; and at present it seems likely to have no consequences.

I have had indeed for some time a small occasion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconsiderable for a formal subject of complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at present to as great a height as a matter of that nature can possibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual stop should be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiousness of several weekly papers, which, for some months past, have been chiefly employed in barefaced scurrilities against those who are in the greatest trust and favour with the queen, with the first and last letters of their names frequently printed, or some periphrasis describing their station, or other innuendoes contrived too plain to be mistaken. The consequence of which is, (and it is natural it should be so) that their long impunity has rendered them still more audacious.

At this time I particularly intend a paper called the Medley; whose indefatigable incessant railings against me I never thought convenient to take notice of, because it would have diverted my design, which I intended to be of publick use. Besides, I never yet observed that writer, or those writers (for it is every way a Medley) to argue against

against any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how soon the world grow weary of controversy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at least have been joined at times in that worthy composition; but the outlines, as well as the finishing, seem to have been always the work of the same pen, as it is visible from half a score beauties of style inseparable from it. But who these Medlers are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I shall never go about to conjecture; factious rancour, false wit, abandoned scurrility, impudent falsehood, and servile pedantry, having so many fathers, and so few to own them, that curiosity herself would not be at the pains to guess. It is the first time I ever did myself the honour to mention that admirable paper; nor could I imagine any occasion likely to happen that would make it necessary for me to engage with such an adversary. This paper is weekly published, and as appears by the number, has been so for several months: and is, next to the Observator, allowed to be the best production of the party. Last week my printer brought me that of May 7, Number 32, where there are two paragraphs relating to the speaker of the house of commons, and to Mr. Harley, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with such an antagonist, I cannot let pass without failing in my duty to the publick: and if those in power will suffer such infamous insinuations to pass with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country of the world.

I desire to open this matter, and leave the whigs themselves to determine upon it. The house of commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the speaker should congratulate Mr. Harley's escape and recovery, in the name of the house, upon his first attendance on their service *. This is accordingly done; and the speech, together with the chancellor of the exchequer's, are printed by order of the house. The author of the Medley takes this speech to task the very next week after it is published; telling us in the aforesaid paper, that the speaker's commending Mr. Harley for being an instrument of great good to the nation, was ill-chosen flattery; because Mr. Harley had brought the nation under great difficulties, to say no more. He says, that when the speaker tells Mr. Harley, that Providence has wonderfully preserved him from some unparalleled attempts, (for that the Medley alludes to) he only revives a false and groundless calumny upon other men; which is an instance of impotent, but inveterate malice, that makes him [the speaker] still appear more vile and contemptible. This is an extract from his first paragraph. In the next, this writer says, that the speaker's praying to God for the continuance of Mr. Harley's life, as an invaluable blessing, was a fulsome piece of insincerity, which exposes him to shame and derision: because he is known to bear ill-will to Mr. Harley, to have an extreme bad opinion of him, and to think him an obstructor of those fine measures he would bring about.

* See p. 237. N.

I now appeal to the whigs themselves, whether a great minister of state, in high favour with the queen, and a speaker of the house of commons, were ever publickly treated after so extraordinary a manner, in the most licentious times? For this is not a clandestine libel stolen into the world, but openly printed and sold with the bookseller's name and place of abode at the bottom. And the juncture is admirable, when Mr. Harley is generally believed upon the very point to be made an earl, and promoted to the most important station of the kingdom; nay, the very marks of esteem he has so lately received, from the whole representative body of the people, are called ill-chosen flattery, and a fulsome piece of insincerity, exposing the donors to shame and derision.

Does this intrepid writer think he has sufficiently disguised the matter, by that stale artifice of altering the story, and putting it as a supposed case? Did any man, who ever saw the congratulatory speech, read either of those paragraphs in the Medley, without interpreting them just as I have done? will the author declare upon his great sincerity, that he never had any such meaning? is it enough, that a jury at Westminster-hall would perhaps not find him guilty of defaming the speaker and Mr. Harley in that paper? which, however, I am much in doubt of too; and must think the law very defective, if the reputation of such persons must lie at the mercy of such pens. I do not remember to have seen any libel, supposed to be written with caution and double meaning in order to prevent prosecution, delivered under so thin a cover, or so unartificially made

up,

up, as this; whether it were from an apprehension of his reader's dullness, or an effect of his own. He has transcribed the very phrases of the speaker, and put them in a different character, for fear they might pass unobserved, and prevent all possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have resourse to the old evasion, and say, that I who make the application am chargeable with the abuse: let any reader of either party be judge. But I cannot forbear asserting as my opinion, that* for a ministry to endure such open calumny, without calling the author to account, is next to deserving it. And this is an omission I venture to charge upon the present ministry, who are too apt to despise little things, which, however, have not always little consequences.

When this paper was first undertaken, one design among others was, to examine some of those writings so frequently published with an evil tendency either to religion or government: but I was long diverted by other inquiries, which I thought more immediately necessary; to animadvert upon men's actions, rather than their speculations; to show the necessity there was of changing the ministry: that our constitution in church and state might be preserved; to expose some dangerous principles and practices under the former administration; and prove by many instances, that those who are now at the helm, are

* That *for a ministry to endure, &c.*—a low ungrammatical mode of expression. It should be—'that a ministry's enduring such open calumny, without,' &c. S.

entirely

entirely in the true interest of prince and people. This I may modestly hope has in some measure been already done, sufficient to answer the end proposed, which was, to inform the ignorant, and those at a distance; and to convince such as are engaged in party from no other motive than that of conscience. I know not whether I shall have any appetite to continue this work much longer; if I do, perhaps some time may be spent in exposing and overturning the false reasonings of those, who engage their pens on the other side, without losing time in vindicating myself against their scurrilities, much less in retorting them. Of this sort there is a certain humble companion, a French *maitre des langues**, who every month publishes an extract from votes, newspapers, speeches, and proclamations, larded with some insipid remarks of his own; which he calls, 'The Political State of Great Britain.' This ingenious piece, he tells us himself, is constantly translated into French, and printed in Holland, where the Dutch, no doubt, conceive most noble sentiments of us, conveyed through such a vehicle. It is observable in his account for April, that the vanity so predominant in many of his nation, has made him more concerned for the honour of Guiscard, than the safety of Mr. Harley. And for fear we should think the worse of his country upon that assassin's account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villanies committed in England, than any other part of the world. I cannot imagine how an illi-

* Abel Boyer. H.

terate

terate foreigner, who is neither master of our language, nor indeed of common sense, and who is devoted to a faction, I suppose for no other reason, but his having more whig customers than tories, should take it into his head to write politick tracts of our affairs. But I presume, he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his insolence in one of his monthly former productions; which is a method that seldom fails of giving some vogue to the foolishest composition. If such a work must be done, I wish some tolerable hand would undertake it; and that we would not suffer a little whiffling Frenchman, to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and presume to instruct foreigners in our politicks.

NUMBER XLIII.

THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1711.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum.

You of your father's crimes the guilt shall bear,
Unless the sacred temples you repair.

SEVERAL letters have been lately sent me, desiring I would make honourable mention of the pious design of building fifty churches in several parts

parts of London and Westminster, where they are most wanted, occasioned by an address of the convocation to the queen, and recommended by her majesty to the house of commons; who immediately promised they would enable her to accomplish so excellent a design, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of this session; at which time, I proposed to deliver a particular account of the great and useful things, already performed by this present parliament. But, in compliance to* those who give themselves the trouble of advising me, and partly convinced by the reasons they offer, I am content to bestow a paper upon a subject that indeed so well deserves it.

The clergy, and whoever else have a true concern for the constitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleased with one prospect in this new scene of public affairs. They may very well remember the time, when every session of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads: and if it happened to pass without bursting into some storm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it a happy escape until the next meeting; upon which we resumed our secret apprehensions, although we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered; the parliament takes the necessities of the church into consideration, receives the proposals of the clergy met in convocation, amid all the exigencies of a long expensive war, and under the pressure of

* It should be—in compliance 'with' those, &c. S.

heavy

heavy debts, finds a supply for erecting fifty edifices for the service of God. And it appears by the address of the commons to her majesty upon this occasion, (wherein they discovered a true spirit of religion) that applying the money granted to accomplish so excellent a design, would, in their opinion, be the most effectual way of carrying on the war; that it would (to use their own words) be a means of drawing down blessings on her majesty's undertakings, as it adds to the number of those places, where the prayers of her devout and faithful subjects will be daily offered up to God, for the prosperity of her government at home, and the success of her arms abroad.

I am sometimes hoping, that we are not naturally so bad a people, as we have appeared for some years past. Faction, in order to support itself, is generally forced to make use of such abominable instruments, that as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is overpressed, and cannot appear to exert itself; but, when that is broken and suppressed, when things return to the old course, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reason and religion. The Romans, upon a great victory or escape from publick danger, frequently built a temple in honour of some god, to whose peculiar favour they imputed their success or delivery; and sometimes the general did the like, at his own expense, to acquit himself of some pious vow he had made. How little of any thing resembling this has been done by us after all our victories! And perhaps, for that reason among others, they have turned to so little account. But what could we expect? We acted

all

all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence; and therefore it was consistent to offer up our edifices only to those, whom we looked upon as givers of all victory, in his stead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at six thousand pounds for a church, which is somewhat under the price of a subject's palace; yet perhaps the care of above two hundred thousand souls, with the benefit of their prayers for the prosperity of their queen and country, may be almost put in the balance with the domestick convenience, or even magnificence, of any subject whatsoever.

Sir William Petty, who, under the name of captain Graunt, published some observations upon the bills of mortality above five years after the Restoration, tells us, the parishes in London were even then so unequally divided, that some were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time, the increase of trade, the frequency of parliaments, the desire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the fire, and has ever since continued, have prodigiously enlarged this town on all sides where it was capable of increase; and those tracts of land built into streets, have generally continued of the same parish they belonged to while they lay in fields; so that the care of about thirty thousand souls has been sometimes committed to one minister, whose church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock: neither, I think, was any family in those parishes obliged to pay above a groat a year to their spiritual pastor. Some few of those parishes have been since divided; in others

were

were erected chapels of ease, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor shifts and expedients, to the infinite shame and scandal of so vast and flourishing a city, have been thought sufficient for the service of God and religion, as if they were circumstances wholly indifferent.

This defect, among other consequences of it, has made schism a sort of necessary evil; there being at least three hundred thousand inhabitants in this town, whom the churches would not be able to contain, if the people were ever so well disposed: and in a city, not overstocked with zeal, the only way to preserve any degree of religion, is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as easy and cheap as possible: whereas, on the contrary, in the larger parishes, the press is so great, and the pew-keepers tax so exorbitant, that those who love to save trouble and money, either stay at home or retire to the conventicles. I believe there are few examples, in any christian country, of so great a neglect of religion; and the dissenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, sowing tares among the wheat while men slept, being much more expert at procuring contributions, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

And to say truth, the way practised by several parishes in and about this town, of maintaining their clergy by voluntary subscriptions, is not only an indignity to the character, but has many pernicious consequences attending it; such a precarious dependance subjecting a clergyman, who has not more than ordinary spirit and resolution,

to

to many inconveniences, which are obvious to imagine*; but this defect will no doubt be remedied by the wisdom and piety of the present parliament; and a tax laid upon every house in a parish for the support of their pastor. Neither indeed can it be conceived, why a house, whose purchase is not reckoned above one-third less than land of the same yearly rent, should not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half tithe) to the support of the minister. One thing I could wish, that in fixing the maintenance to the several ministers in these new intended parishes, no determinate sum of money may be named; which, in all perpetuities, ought by any means to be avoided; but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each house, although it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in several parishes of the city after the fire, where the incumbent and his successors were to receive for ever a certain sum; for example, one or two hundred pounds a year. But the lawgivers did not consider, that what we call at present one hundred pounds, will not in process of time have the intrinsick value of twenty; as twenty pounds now, are hardly equal to forty shillings, three hundred years ago. There are a thousand instances of this all over England, in reserved rents applied to hospitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themselves, in those payments which, I think, they call a *modus*.

As no prince had ever better dispositions than

* 'Which are obvious to imagine'—it should be—'Which are obvious to be imagined.' S.

her present majesty for the advancement of true religion, so there never was any age that produced greater occasions to employ them on. It is an unspeakable misfortune, that any design of so excellent a queen should be checked by the necessities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or corruption of modern politicians have involved us in, against all the maxims whereby our country flourished so many hundred years: else, her majesty's care of religion, would certainly have reached even to her American plantations. Those noble countries, stocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until some better care be taken for cultivating christianity among them. If the governors of those several colonies were obliged, at certain times, to transmit an exact representation of the state of religion in their several districts, and the legislature here would, in a time of leisure, take that affair under their consideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her majesty's reign.

But, to wave farther speculations upon so remote a scene, while we have subjects enough to employ them on at home; it is to be hoped the clergy will not let slip any proper opportunity of improving the pious dispositions of the queen and kingdom, for the advantage of the church; when, by the example of times past, they consider how rarely such conjunctures are likely to happen. What if some method were thought on toward the repairing of churches; for which there is likely to be too frequent occasion; those ancient

Gothic

Gothic structures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay? That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable collections, seems in my opinion not very suitable either to the dignity and usefulness of the work, or to the honour of our country; since it might be so easily done, with very little charge to the publick, in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are so frequently called. But these, and other regulations, must be left to a time of peace, which I shall humbly presume to wish may soon be our share, however offensive it may be to any, either abroad or at home, who are gainers by the war.

NUMBER XLIV.

THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1711.

Scilicet, ut posses curvo dignoscere rectum.

That hence you may distinguish right from wrong.

HAVING been forced in my papers to use the cant words of whig and tory, which have so often varied their significations for twenty years past, I think it necessary to say something of the several changes those two terms have undergone since that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always understood by each of them, since I undertook this work. I reckon that these sorts of con-

ceited appellations, are usually invented by the vulgar; who, not troubling themselves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cause, are consequently the most violent partisans of what they espouse, and in their quarrels usually proceed to their beloved argument of calling names, until at length they light upon one which is sure to stick: and in time, each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adversaries at first intended for a reproach. Of this kind were the prasini and veneti, the guelfs and gibelines, hugonots and papists, roundheads and cavaliers, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us, of late, there seems to have been a barrenness of invention in this point; the words whig and tory, although they be not much above thirty years old, having been pressed to the service of many successions of parties, with very different ideas fastened to them. This distinction, I think, began toward the latter part of king Charles the second's reign, was dropped during that of his successor, and then revived at the Revolution; since which it has perpetually flourished, although applied to very different kinds of principles and persons. In that convention of lords and commons, some of both houses were for a regency to the prince of Orange, with a reservation of style and title to the absent king, which should be made use of in all publick acts; others, when they were brought to allow the throne vacant, thought the succession should immediately go to the next heir, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the last king were actually dead. And although the dissenting lords (in whose house the chief opposition was)

was) did at last yield both those points, took the oaths to the new king, and many of them, employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil eye, by the warm zealots of the other side; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, although some of them were of the most eminent for abilities and virtue, and served that prince, both in his councils and his army, with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the same time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleased with the scheme of a regency, or at least an uninterrupted lineal succession, for the sake of those whose consciences were truly scrupulous; and they thought there were some circumstances in the case of the deprived bishops, that looked a little hard, or at least deserved commiseration.

These, and other the like reflections, did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of whig and tory.

Some time after the Revolution, the distinction of high and low church came in, which was raised by the dissenters, in order to break the church party by dividing the members into high and low; and the opinions raised, that the high joined with the papists, inclined the low to fall in with the dissenters.

And here I shall take leave to produce some principles, which, in the several periods of the late reign, served to denote a man of one or the other party. To be against a standing army in time of peace, was all highchurch, tory, and tantivy; to differ from a majority of bishops, was the same. To raise the prerogative above law for

serving

serving a turn, was low church and whig. The opinion of the majority in the house of commons, especially of the country party or landed interest, was high-flying and rank tory. To exalt the king's supremacy beyond all precedent, was low-church, whiggish, and moderate. To make the least doubt of the pretended prince's being suppositious, and a tiler's son, was in their phrase top and topgallant, and perfect jacobitism. To resume the most exorbitant grants that were ever given to a set of profligate favourites, and apply them to the publick, was the very quintessence of toryism; notwithstanding those grants were known to be acquired by sacrificing the honour and the wealth of England.

In most of these principles, the two parties seem to have shifted opinions, since their institution under king Charles the second; and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the Revolution. But as to that concerning the pretender, the whigs have so far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy: which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a noble duke, who was accused of a blunder in the house, when, upon a certain lord's mentioning the pretended prince, his grace told the lords, he must be plain with them, and call that person, not the pretended prince, but the pretended impostor: which was so far from a blunder in that polite lord, as his ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed sentiments of his whole party.

But to return; this was the state of principles, when

when the queen came to the crown; some time after which, it pleased certain great persons, who had been all their lives in the altitude of tory profession, to enter into a treaty with the whigs, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends; who began to be resty, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor consent to carry on the war entirely at the expense of this nation, that they might have pensions from abroad; while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times of peace; whereas the other party, whose case appeared then as desperate, was ready to yield to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a sacrifice to the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth in a very few, that shall be nameless, who, in every step they made, acted directly against what they had always professed. And if his royal highness the prince* had died some years sooner (who was a perpetual check in their career) it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

Since that time, the bulk of the whigs appears rather to be linked to a certain set of persons, than any certain set of principles; so that, if I were to define a member of that party, I should say, he was one who believed in the late ministry. And therefore, whatever I have affirmed of whigs in any of these papers, or objected against them, ought to be understood, either of those who were partisans of the late men in power, and privy to

* Prince George of Denmark. H.

their

their designs; or such, who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and dissenters of all sizes; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption, and dreaded a change, which would not only put a stop to farther abuses for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was past; or those, who had been too highly obliged to quit their supporters with any common decency; or lastly, the money-traders, who could never hope to make their markets so well of premiums, and exorbitant interest, and high remittances, under any other administration.

Under these heads, may be reduced the whole body of those, whom I have all along understood for whigs; for I do not include within this number any of those, who have been misled by ignorance, or seduced by plausible pretences, to think better of that sort of men than they deserve, and to apprehend mighty danger from their disgrace; because I believe the greatest part of such well-meaning people, are now thoroughly converted.

And indeed it must be allowed, that the two fantastick names of whig and tory, have, at present, very little relation to those opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly professed himself to approve the Revolution, to be against the pretender, to justify the succession in the house of Hanover, to think the British monarchy not absolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not dispense with, and to allow an indulgence to scrupulous consciences; such man was content to be called a whig. On the other side, whoever asserted

serted the queen's hereditary right, that the persons of princes were sacred, their lawful authority not to be resisted on any pretence; nor even their usurpations, without the most extreme necessity; that breaches in the succession were highly dangerous; that schism was a great evil, both in itself and its consequences; that the ruin of the church would probably be attended with that of the state; that no power should be trusted with those who are not of the established religion; such a man was usually called a tory. Now, although the opinions of both these are very consistent, and I really think are maintained at present by a great majority of the kingdom; yet according as men apprehend the danger greater, either from the pretender and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other enemies to the constitution, so their common discourses and reasonings turn either to the first, or second set of these opinions, I have mentioned; and they are consequently styled either whigs or tories. Which is as if two brothers apprehended their house would be set upon, but disagreed about the place whence they thought the robbery would come, and therefore would go on different sides to defend it; they must needs weaken and expose themselves by such a separation; and so did we, only our case was worse; for, in order to keep off a weak remote enemy, from whom we could not suddenly apprehend any danger, we took a nearer and a stronger one into the house. I make no comparison at all between the two enemies; popery and slavery are without doubt the greatest and most dreadful of any; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of these

have

have not, at least since the Revolution, been so close and pressing upon us, as that from another faction; excepting only one short period; when the leaders of that very faction invited the abdicating king to return; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having thus declared what sort of persons I have always meant under the denomination of whigs, it will be easy to show whom I understand by tories. Such, whose principles in church and state are what I have above related; whose actions are derived thence, and who have no attachment to any set of ministers, farther than as they are friends to the constitution in all its parts; but will do their utmost to save their prince and country, whoever be at the helm.

By these descriptions of whig and tory, I am sensible those names are given to several persons very undeservedly; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the least title to the blame or praise I have bestowed on each of them, throughout my papers.

NUMBER

NUMBER XLV.

THURSDAY, JUNE 7, 1711.

Magna vis est, magnum nomen, unum et idem sentientis senatus.

Great is the name and authority of a senate, in which unanimity prevails.

WHOEVER calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealousies, the shameful misrepresentation of persons and of things, that were raised and spread by the leaders and instruments of a certain party, upon the change of the last ministry, and dissolution of the parliament; if he be a true lover of his country, must feel a mighty pleasure, although mixed with some indignation, to see the wishes, the conjectures, the endeavours, of an inveterate faction, entirely disappointed; and this important period wholly spent in restoring the prerogative of the prince, and liberty to the subject; in reforming past abuses, and preventing future; supplying old deficiencies providing for debts, restoring the clergy to their rights, and taking care of the necessities of the church; and all this, unattended with any of those misfortunes which some men hoped for, while they pretended to fear.

For my own part I must confess, the difficulties appeared so great to me, from such a noise and

and show of opposition, that I thought nothing but the absolute necessity of affairs, could ever justify so daring an attempt. But a wise and good prince, at the head of an able ministry, and of a senate freely chosen, all united to pursue the true interest of their country, is a power against which the little inferiour politicks of any faction, will be able to make no long resistance. To this we may add one additional strength, which in the opinion of our adversaries is the greatest and justest of any; I mean the *vox populi*, so indisputably declarative on the same side. I am apt to believe, when these discarded politicians begin seriously to consider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reserve their wisdom for some more convenient juncture.

It is pleasant enough to observe, that those who were the chief instruments of raising the noise, who started fears, bespoke dangers, and formed ominous prognosticks, in order to scare the allies, to spirit the French, and fright ignorant people at home, made use of those very opinions themselves had broached, for arguments to prove that the change of ministers was dangerous and unseasonable. But if a house be swept, the more occasion there is for such a work, the more dust it will raise; if it be going to ruin, the repairs, however necessary, will make a noise, and disturb the neighbourhood a while. And as to the rejoicings made in France, if it be true that they had any, upon the news of those alterations among us; their joy was grounded upon the same hopes with that of the whigs, who comforted

ted themselves, that the change of ministry and parliament would infallibly put us all into confusion, increase our divisions, and destroy our credit, wherein I suppose by this time they are equally undeceived.

But this long session being in a manner ended, which several circumstances, and one accident altogether unforeseen, have drawn out beyond the usual time; it may be some small piece of justice to so excellent an assembly, barely to mention a few of those great things they have done, for the service of their queen and country, which I shall take notice of just as they come to my memory.

The credit of the nation began mightily to suffer by a discount upon Exchequer bills, which have been generally reckoned the surest and most sacred of all securities. The present lord treasurer, then a member of the house of commons, proposed a method, which was immediately complied with, of raising them to a par with species; and so they have ever since continued.

The British colonies of Nevis and St. Christopher's had been miserably plundered by the French, their houses burnt, their plantations destroyed, and many of the inhabitants carried away prisoners; they had often, for some years past, applied in vain for relief from hence; until the present parliament, considering their condition as a case of justice and mercy, voted them one hundred thousand pounds by way of recompense, in some manner, for their sufferings.

Some

Some persons, whom the voice of the nation authorizes me to call her enemies, taking advantage of the general naturalization act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions, under the name of Palatines, who understood no trade or handicraft, yet rather chose to beg than labour; who, beside infesting our streets, bred contagious diseases, by which we lost in natives thrice the number of what we gained in foreigners. The house of commons, as a remedy against this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization; which, to the surprise of most people, was rejected by the lords. And upon this occasion I must allow myself to have been justly rebuked by one of my weekly monitors, for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed; wherein the commons being disappointed, took care however to send many of the Palatines away, and to represent their being invited over as a pernicious counsel.

The qualification-bill, incapacitating all men to serve in parliament, who have not some estate in land, either in possession or certain reversion, is perhaps the greatest security that ever was contrived for preserving the constitution, which otherwise might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the monied interest. And since much the greatest part of the taxes is paid either immediately from land, or from its productions, it is but common justice, that those, who are the proprietors, should appoint what portion of it ought to go to the support of the publick; otherwise,

wise, the engrossers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themselves never touch with one of their fingers.

The publick debts were so prodigiously increased by the negligence and corruption of those who had been managers of the revenue, that the late ministers, like careless men who run out their fortunes, were so far from any thoughts of payment, that they had not the courage to state or compute them. The parliament found, that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for; and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for; amounted to nine millions. The late chancellor of the Exchequer*, suitable to his transcendant genius for publick affairs, proposed a fund, to be security for that immense debt; which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to prove the greatest restoration and establishment of the kingdom's credit. Not content with this, the legislature has appointed commissioners of accompts to inspect into past mismanagements of the publick money, and prevent them for the future.

I have in a former paper mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in London and Westminister, with a fund appropriated for that pious and noble work. But while I am mentioning acts of piety, it would be unjust to conceal my lord high treasurer's concern for religion, which has extended even to another kingdom: his lordship having some months ago obtained of her majesty the first fruits and tenths to the clergy of

* Earl of Oxford. H.

Ireland, as he is known to have before done to that reverend body here*.

The act for carrying on a trade to the South-sea, proposed by the same great person, whose thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with success, on the good of his country, will, in all probability; if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlasting honour to the present parliament.

I might go on farther, and mention that seasonable law against excessive gaming; and putting a stop to that scandalous fraud of false musters in the guards; the diligent and effectual inquiry made by the commons into several gross abuses. I might produce many instances of their impartial justice in deciding controverted elections, against former example, and great provocations to retaliate. I might show their cheerful readiness in granting such vast supplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the queen; and lastly, that representation made to her majesty from the house of commons, discovering such a spirit and disposition in that noble assembly to redress all those evils, which a long maleadministration had brought upon us.

It is probable, that trusting only to my memory, I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend further in the compass of this paper, than to give the world some general, however imperfect idea,

* See the Journal to Stella, *passim.* N.

how

how worthily this great assembly has discharged the trust of those who so freely chose them; and what we may reasonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wisdom, and loyalty of such excellent patriots, in a time so fruitful of occasions to exert the greatest abilities.

And now I conceive the main design I had in writing these papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the queen proceeded with the highest wisdom in changing her ministry and parliament; that under a former administration the greatest abuses of all kinds were committed and the most dangerous attempts against the constitution for some time intended. The whole kingdom finds the present persons in power, directly and openly pursuing the true service of their queen and country; and to be such, whom their most bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery, covetousness, ambition, pride, insolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

For my own particular, those little barking curs, which have so constantly pursued me, I take to be of no farther consequence to what I have written, than the scoffing slaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no stop or disturbance in the show. However, if those perpetual snarlers against me had the same design, I must own they have effectually compassed it; since nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the same species with creatures, capable of uttering so much scurrility, dulness,

falsehood, and impertinence, to the scandal and disgrace of human nature.

NUMBER XLVI.

THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1711.

Melius non tangere, clamo.

WHEN a general has conquered an army, and reduced a country to obedience, he often finds it necessary to send out small bodies, in order to take in petty castles and forts, and beat little straggling parties, which are otherwise apt to make head, and infest the neighbourhood. This case exactly resembles mine. I count the main body of the whigs entirely subdued; at least till they appear with new reinforcements, I shall reckon them as such; and therefore do now find myself at leisure to examine inferior abuses. The business I have left is, to fall on those wretches that will be still keeping the war on foot, when they have no country to defend, no forces to bring into the field, nor any thing remaining, but their bare good will toward faction and mischief: I mean the present set of writers, whom I have suffered without molestation, so long to infest the town. Were there not a concurrence from prejudice, party, weak understanding, and misrepresentation,

presentation, I should think them too inconsiderable in themselves to deserve correction. But as my endeavour has been to expose the gross impositions of the fallen party, I will give a taste, in the following petition, of the sincerity of these their factors, to show how little those writers for the whigs were guided by conscience or honour, their business being only to gratify a prevailing interest.

"To the right honourable the present ministry; the humble petition of the party writers to the late ministry,

"HUMBLY SHEWETH,

"That your petitioners have served their time to the trade of writing pamphlets and weekly papers, in defence of the whigs, against the church of England, and the christian religion, and her majesty's prerogative, and her title to the crown: That, since the late change of ministry, and meeting of this parliament, the said trade is mightily fallen off, and the call for the said pamphlets and papers much less than formerly; and it is feared, to our farther prejudice, that the Examiner may discontinue writing, whereby some of your petitioners will be brought to utter distress, forasmuch as, through false quotations, noted absurdities, and other legal abuses, many of your petitioners, to their great comfort and support, were enabled to pick up a weekly subsistence out of the said Examiner.

"That your said poor petitioners did humbly offer your honours to write in defence of the late

change of ministry and parliament, much cheaper than they did for your predecessors: which your honours were pleased to refuse.

"Notwithstanding which offer, your petitioners are under daily apprehensions, that your honours will forbid them to follow the said trade any longer; by which your petitioners, to the number of fourscore, with their wives and families, will inevitably starve, having been bound to no other calling.

"Your petitioners desire your honours will tenderly consider the premises, and suffer your said petitioners to continue their trade (those who set them at work being still willing to employ them, though at lower rates), and your said petitioners will give security to make use of the same stuff, and dress in the same manner, as they always did, and no other. And your petitioners, &c."

SOME

SOME

ADVICE

HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

OCTOBER CLUB.

In a Letter from a Person of Honour*.

Written in January, 1711-12.

* Supposed at the time to have been lord Harcourt. N.

*** "I have made Ford copy a small pamphlet, and send to the press, that I might not be known for its author; 'tis *A Letter to the October Club*, if you ever heard of such a thing." Journal to Stella, Jan. 18, 1711-12.

"I dined in the city, where my printer showed me a pamphlet, called *Advice to the October Club*, which he said was sent him by an unknown hand. I commended it mightily; he never suspected me; 'tis a two-penny pamphlet." Ibid. Jan. 21.

"I was to-night at lord Masham's. Lord Dupplin took out my new little pamphlet; and the secretary read a great deal to lord treasurer. They all commended it to the skies, and so did I; and they began a health to the author. But I doubt lord treasurer suspected; for he said, *This is Dr. Davenant's style;* which is his cant, when he suspects me. But I carried the matter very well. Lord treasurer put the pamphlet in his pocket, to read at home." Ibid. Jan. 23.

"The little two-penny *Letter of Advice to the October Club* does not sell. I know not the reason; for it is finely written, I assure you; and, like a true author, I grow fond of it, because it does not sell. You know that is usual to writers, to condemn the judgment of the world. If I had hinted it to be mine, every body would have bought it: but it is a great secret." Ibid. Jan. 23.

"The pamphlet of *Advice to the October Club* begins now to sell; but I believe its fame will hardly reach Ireland; 'tis finely written, I assure you." Ibid. Feb. 1.

THE PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

ABOUT the year when her late majesty, of blessed memory, thought proper to change her ministry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, sir Simon Harcourt, and some others; the first of these being made an earl and lord treasurer, he was soon after blamed by the friends for not making a general sweep of all the whigs, as the latter did of their adversaries upon her majesty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament men, amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the slowness of the treasurer in this part, that they formed themselves into a body, under the name of the October Club*, and had many meetings, to consult upon some

* "Some months ago, the leading members of the House of Commons of the high church, or tory party, set up a club, which met once or twice at the Bell Tavern in King-street, Westminster; and which, being mainly composed of country gentlemen, who, when at home, generally drank October beer, was therefore called, *The October Club.* This society, during the whole first session of this parliament, had gone blindfold into all the measures of the present ministers; but many of them, who had hitherto been amused and deluded with vain promises of preferment, suspecting the prime manager to be an ambidextrous trickster, and being like to fly off, a friend to the lord treasurer wrote and

some methods that might spur on those in power, so that they might make a quicker dispatch in removing all of the whig leaven from the employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill consequences of this discontent among so many worthy members, the rest of the ministry joined with the treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly divide those, who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a publick house, where he convinced them very plainly of the treasurer's sincerity, with many of those very reasons which are urged in the following discourse, beside some others which were not so proper to appear at that time in print.

The treasurer alleged in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice; that several gentlemen, who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to her majesty, had never been violent party men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant,

and published the following piece." Political State, Feb. 1711-12, p. 122; where an alphabetical list of the members of the October Club (159 in number) is given.—See a farther account of this club, and of the methods by which it was reduced, in the Dean's "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry." On its dissolution, a considerable number of the members belonging to it formed another, under the denomination of the March Club, which was however of no long duration; a circumstance owing to the prudent management of the lord treasurer Harley and Mr. secretary St. John. N.

he

he would humbly recommend to her majesty such gentlemen, whose principles with regard both to church and state, his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the earl proceeded in procuring employments for those, who deserved them by their honesty and abilities to execute them; which I confess to have been a singularity not very likely to be imitated. However the gentlemen of this club still continued uneasy that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or, by dividing them, the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty, we have been assured that the following discourse was very seasonably published with great success; showing the difficulties that the earl of Oxford lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employment should be true loyal churchmen, zealous for her majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the succession in the house of Hanover, if the queen should happen to die without issue. This discourse having been published about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a point of history too material to be lost. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the supposed author.

SOME

SOME ADVICE

HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

OCTOBER CLUB.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together, without the forms and constraint necessary to be observed in publick assemblies, must very much improve each other's understanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourselves against any designs of the opposite party. Upon the opening of this session an incident has happened, to provide against the consequences whereof, will require your utmost vigilance and application. All this last summer, the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while those on our side were dropped, as if we had no farther occasion for them. Some time before, an opportunity fell into their hands, which they

have

have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavoured, in some sort, to turn those arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their ruin: a plain demonstration of their superior skill at intrigue; to make a stratagem succeed a second time, and this even against those who first tried it upon them. I know not whether this opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any care, without straining a very tender point; which those chiefly concerned avoided by all means, because it might seem a counterpart of what they had so much condemned in their predecessors; although it is certain the two cases were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been safe, for there was no danger in view; but the consequences of this were foreseen from the beginning; and those who kept the watch had early warning of it. It would have been a masterpiece of prudence, in this case, to have made a friend of an enemy. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to inquire. All accommodation was rendered desperate, by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at Windsor, which was a declaration of war, too frank and generous for that situation of affairs; and I am told was not approved of by a certain great minister*. It was obvious to suppose, that in a particular, where the honour and interest of a husband† were so closely united with those of a wife†, he might be sure of her utmost

* The lord treasurer. N.

† The duke and duchess of Somerset. N.

endeavours

endeavours for his protection, although she neither loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, and shelter from domestick tyranny, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain, early practised in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the weakness of any man's understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the spirit of revenge, to sharpen his invention: nothing else is required beside obsequiousness and assiduity; which, as they are often the talents of those who have no better, so they are apt to make impressions upon the best and greatest minds.

It was no small advantage to the designing party, that since the adventure at Windsor, the person on whom we so much depend*, was long absent by sickness; which hindered him from pursuing those measures, that ministers are in prudence forced to take, to defend their country and themselves against an irritated faction. The negotiators on the other side, improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmost; and by an unparalleled boldness, accompanied with many falsehoods, persuaded certain lords (who were already in the same principle, but were afraid of making a wrong step, lest it should lead them out of their coaches into the dirt) that voting in appearance against the court, would be the safest course to avoid the danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their pensions; and their opinions, when produced, by seemingly contradicting their interest, have an appearance of virtue into the

* The lord treasurer. N.

bargain.

bargain. This, with some arguments of more immediate power, went far in producing that strange unexpected turn we have so lately seen, and from which our adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful effects; and some of them, particularly my lord chief justice, began to act as if all were already in their power.

But although the more immediate causes of this desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not have succeeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church party and the ministers had different views, or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and I suppose not without some ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were discontented to find so little done; that they thought it looked as if the people were not in earnest; that they expected to see a thorough change with respect to employments; and although every man could not be provided for, yet when all places were filled with persons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints, and less danger from the other party; that this change was hoped for all last summer, and even to the opening of the session, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by some, in favour of the ministry, that it was impossible to find employments for one pretender in twenty; and therefore in gratifying one, nineteen would be disobliged; but while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve: but this again was esteemed a very shallow policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an end,

end, and would cause a general discontent, with twenty other objections to which it was liable: and indeed considering the short life of ministers in our climate, it was, with some reason, thought a little hard, that those for whom any employment was intended, should by such a delay, be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its interest.

I have set this cause of complaint in the strongest light, although my design is to endeavour that it should have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is necessary to say something to this objection, which, in all appearance, lies so hard upon the present ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a point? how shall I convey an answer that none will apprehend, except those for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great ministers, upon several accounts; but never so much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next world, though they dare not convince the present, till it is too late. This letter is sent you, gentlemen, from no mean hand, nor from a person uninformed, though, for the rest, as little concerned in point of interest for any change of ministry, as most others of his fellow subjects. I may therefore assume so much to myself, as to desire you will depend upon it, that a short time will make manifest, how little the defect you complain

complain of ought to lie at that door, where your enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest man, who is not very near the spring of affairs, but views them only in their issues and events, will be apt to fix applauses and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cause of a weakness, that I never yet knew great ministers without; I mean, their being deaf to all advice: for, if a person of the best understanding offers his opinion in a point where he is not master of all the circumstances, (which perhaps are not to be told) 'tis a hundred to one but he runs into an absurdity: whence it is, that ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general things, where the common reason of mankind ought to be the judge, and is probably less biassed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts, blindly pursue a point of no importance, against the advice of every friend he had, till it ended in his ruin. I have seen great abilities rendered utterly useless, by unaccountable and unnecessary delay, and by difficulty of access, by which a thousand opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the strongest shoulders sink under too great a load of business, for want of dividing a due proportion among others. These, and more that might be named, are very obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to discern, as well as lament; and wherein the wisest minister may receive advice from others, of inferior understanding. But in those actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumstances, it is hardly possible that our judgment

ment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a measure taken, which has afterward proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay, I have known those very men, who have formerly been in the secret of affairs, when a new set of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plausible manner upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occasions may have been given for complaints, that enough has not been done, those complaints should not be carried so far, as to make us forget what hath been done; which, at first, was a great deal more than we hoped or thought practicable; and you may be assured that so much courage and address were not employed in the beginning of so great a work, without a resolution of carrying it through, as fast as opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine gentlemen in your club, would gladly have compounded, two years ago, to have been assured of seeing affairs in the present situation: it is principally to the abilities of one great person, that you, gentlemen, owe the happiness of meeting together, to cultivate the good principles, and form yourselves into a body for defending your country, against a restless and dangerous faction. It is to the same we all owe that mighty change in the most important posts of the kingdom; that we see the sacred person of our prince encompassed by those, whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our power: and if every thing besides that you could wish, has not been

hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful, though unknown impediments, wherein the ministry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good reason to hope, from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that these impediments will in a short time effectually be removed: and one great motive to hasten the removal of them, will doubtless be, the reflection upon those dangerous consequences, which* had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a conviction, that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return, than to serve as opportunities to the insatiable malice of an enemy; power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its opposers, at least of all offensive weapons.

Consider, if you please, how hard beset the present ministry has been on every side: by the impossibility of carrying on the war any longer, without taking the most desperate courses; or of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, although we could continue it many years longer: by the clamours of a faction against any peace without that condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable: by the secret cabals of foreign ministers, who endeavoured to inflame our people, and spirited up a sinking faction to blast our endeavours for peace, with those popular reproaches of France and the pretender; not to mention the dange

* *Had like*—a bad phrase; it should be—'which *were likely* to have ensued,' &c. S.

they

they have been in, from private insinuations, of such a nature as it was almost impossible to fence against. These clouds now begin to blow over, and those who are at the helm, will have leisure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which now makes up the adverse party, consists of a union so monstrous and unnatural, that in a little time it must of necessity fall to pieces. The dissenters, with reason, think themselves betrayed and sold by their brethren. What they have been told, that the present bill against occasional conformity was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuse too gross to pass; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining sections of the party have no other tie, but that of an inveterate hatred, and rancour against those in power, without agreeing in any other common interest, not cemented by principle, or personal friendship: I speak particularly of their leaders; and although I know that court enmities are as inconstant as its friendships, yet from the difference of temper and principle, as well as the scars remaining of former animosities, I am persuaded their league will not be of long continuance: I know several of them, who will never pardon those with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they see the present ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of hunting upon a cold scent, or playing a desperate game, and crumble away.

On the other side, while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the

bruises of their fall, which pain them afresh since their late disappointment, they will leave no arts untried to recover themselves; and it behoves all, who have any regard for the safety of the queen or her kingdom, to join unanimously against an adversary, who will return full fraught with vengeance, upon the first opportunity that shall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, because that party seem yet to have a reserve of hope in the same quarter, whence their last reinforcement came. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs so much, as a disagreement among ourselves, founded upon a jealousy of the ministry; who I think need no better a testimony of their good intentions, than the incessant rage of the party-leaders against them.

There is one fault, which both sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their adversaries for the contrary virtue. The tories acknowledge, that the whigs outdid them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other: the whigs allow the same to the tories. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for, doubtless, the tories are less vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in punishing, will probably be so in rewarding: although, at the same time, I well remember the clamours often raised during the reign of that party, against the leaders, by those who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reason on their side, because it is no doubt a misfortune to forfeit honour and conscience for nothing: but surely the case is very different at this time, when, whoever adheres to

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the administration, does service to God, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private interest and safety.

But if the whig leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the bulk of them were in general more zealous for the service of their party, even when abstracted from any private advantage, as might be observed in a thousand instances; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not unnatural for mankind, to be more violent in an ill cause, than a good one.

The perpetual discord of factions with several changes of late years in the very nature of our government have controlled many maxims among us. The court and country party, which used to be the old division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended, for better times, and worse princes. The queen and ministry are at this time fully in the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore the court and country are of a side; and the whigs, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction nursed up by the necessities, or mistakes, of a late good, although unexperienced prince. Court and country ought therefore to join their forces against these common enemies, until they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest misfortunes which can befall the nation, are what would most answer their interest and their wishes; a perpetual war increases their money, and breaks and beggars their landed enemies. The ruin of the church would please the

dissenters,

dissenters, deists, and socinians, whereof the body of their party consists. A commonwealth, or a protector, would gratify the republican principles of some, and the ambition of others among them.

Hence I would infer, that no discontents of an inferiour nature, such I mean as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill impression of the present ministry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, gentlemen, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the secret instruments of that faction. The truth of this has appeared from some late incidents, more visibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one will now make a doubt, whether a certain person be in earnest, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party, to strike directly at his head.

When it happens by some private cross intrigues, that a great man has not that power which is thought due to his station, he will however probably desire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the dignity, nor hardly go through the common business of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own disquiets. Mean time, his expecting friends impute all their disappointments to some deep design, or to his defect of good will; and his enemies are sure to cry up his excess of power, especially in those points where they are confident it is most shortened. A minister, in this difficult case, is sometimes forced to preserve his credit, by forbearing what is in his power, for fear of discovering

discovering how far the limits extend of what is not; or, perhaps, for fear of showing an inclination contrary to that of his master. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of delay, unsteadiness, or want of sincerity. So that there are many inconveniences and dangers, either in discovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that ministers may happen to suffer for the sins of their predecessors, who, by their great abuses and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future, in the distribution of both. And as in common life, whoever has been long confined, is very fond of his liberty, and will not easily endure the very appearance of restraint, even from those who have been the instruments of setting him free: so it is with the recovery of power, which is usually attended with an undistinguished jealousy, lest it should be again invaded. In such a juncture, I cannot discover why a wise and honest man should venture to place himself at the head of affairs, upon any other regard than the safety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to prevent an ill man from coming in.

Upon the whole, I do not see any one ground of suspicion or dislike, which you, gentlemen, or others who wish well to their country, may have entertained about persons or proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended, even by those who think they have the best information. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this occasion; yet whoever will

reason

reason impartially upon the whole state of affairs, must entirely acquit the ministry of that delay and neutrality, which have been laid to their charge. Or, suppose some small part of this accusation were true, (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the world will soon be convinced) yet the consequences of any resentment at this time, must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can be imagined; for, if the present ministry be made so uneasy, that a change be thought necessary, things will return of course into the old hands of those, whose little fingers will be found heavier than their predecessors loins. The whig faction is so dextrous at corrupting, and the people so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be, after such a turn of affairs, upon a new election, to procure a majority against you. They will resume their power, with a spirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the last triumvirate; and those ministers who have been most censured for too much hesitation, will fall the first sacrifices to their vengeance: but these are the smallest mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning exiles. What security can a prince hope for his person, or his crown, or ever for the monarchy itself? He must expect to see his best friends brought to the scaffold, for asserting his rights; to see his prerogative trampled on, and his treasure applied to feed the avarice of those, who make themselves his keepers; to be himself treated with insolence and contempt; have his family purged at pleasure by their humour and malice: and to retain even the name

and shadow of a king, no longer than his ephori shall think fit.

These are the inevitable consequences of such a change of affairs, as that envenomed party is now projecting; which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present ministry, until this domestick enemy is out of all possibility of making head any more.

THE

THE HUMBLE REPRESENTATION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TO THE QUEEN;

WITH HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS ANSWER THEREUNTO.

MARCH 4, 1711-12.

"Sir Thomas Hanmer desired I would see him at seven. His business was, that I would help him to draw up the Representation; which I consented to do; but do not know whether I shall succeed, because it is a little out of my way: however, I have taken my share." JOURNAL TO STELLA, Feb. 21, 1711-12. —"I went early this morning to the secretary. Sir Thomas Hanmer and the chancellor of the exchequer came while I was there; and he would not let me stir; so I did not go to church, but was busy with them till noon, about the affair I told you in my last." IBID. Feb. 24.—"The Representation of the house of commons is printed. I have not seen it yet; it is plaguy severe, they say." IBID. March 5.—"Pray read the Representation. It is the finest that ever was writ. Some of it is Pdfr's* style; but not very much." IBID. March 8.

* Dr. Swift. N.

THE

HUMBLE REPRESENTATION, &c.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, having nothing so much at heart, as to enable your majesty to bring this long and expensive war to an honourable and happy conclusion, have taken it into our most serious consideration, how the necessary supplies, to be provided by us, may be best applied, and how the common cause may in the most effectual manner be carried on by the united force of the whole confederacy. We have thought ourselves obliged, in duty to your majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us, to inquire into the true state of the war in all its parts; we have examined what stipulations have been entered into between your majesty and your allies, and how far such engagements have on each side been made good; we have considered the different interests which the confederates have in the success of this war, and the different shares they have contributed to its support; we have with our utmost care and diligence endeavoured to discover the nature, extent,

tent, and charge of it, to the end that by comparing the weight thereof with our own strength, we might adapt the one to the other in such measure, as neither to continue your majesty's subjects under a heavier burden than in reason and justice they ought to bear, nor deceive your majesty, your allies, and ourselves, by undertaking more than the nation in its present circumstance is able to perform.

Your majesty has been graciously pleased, upon our humble applications, to order such materials to be laid before us, as have furnished us with the necessary information upon the particulars we have inquired into; and when we shall have laid before your majesty our observations and humble advice upon this subject, we promise to ourselves this happy fruit from it, That if your majesty's generous and good purposes for the procuring a safe and lasting peace should, through the obstinacy of the enemy, or by any other means, be unhappily defeated; a true knowledge and understanding of the past conduct of the war, will be the best foundation for a more frugal and equal management of it for the time to come.

In order to take the more perfect view of what we proposed, and that we might be able to set the whole before your majesty in a true light, we have thought it necessary to go back to the beginning of the war, and beg leave to observe the motives and reasons upon which his late majesty king William engaged first in it. The treaty of the grand alliance explains those reasons to be for the supporting the pretensions of his imperial majesty, then actually engaged in a war with the

the French king, who had usurped the entire Spanish monarchy for his grandson the duke of Anjou: and for the assisting the states-general, who, by the loss of their barrier against France, were then in the same or a more dangerous condition, than if they were actually invaded. As these were the just and necessary motives for undertaking this war, so the ends proposed to be obtained by it were equally wise and honourable: for as they are set forth in the eighth article of the same treaty, they appear to have been, the procuring an equitable and reasonable satisfaction to his imperial majesty, and sufficient securities for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and commerce of the king of Great Britain and the states-general; the making effectual provision that the two kingdoms of France and Spain should never be united under the same government, and particularly, that the French should never get into the possession of the Spanish West Indies, or be permitted to sail thither upon the account of traffick, under any pretence whatsoever: and lastly, the securing to the subjects of the king of Great Britain and the states-general, all the same privileges and rights of commerce throughout the whole dominions of Spain, as they enjoyed before the death of Charles the second king of Spain, by virtue of any treaty, agreement, custom, or any other way whatsoever: for the obtaining these ends, the three confederated powers engaged to assist one another with their whole force, according to such proportions as should be specified in a particular convention afterwards to be made for that purpose; we do

not

not find that any such convention was ever ratified, but it appears, that there was an agreement concluded, which by common consent was understood to be binding upon each party respectively, and according to which the proportions of Great Britain were from the beginning regulated and founded: the terms of that agreement were, That, for the service at land, his imperial majesty should furnish ninety thousand men, the king of Great Britain forty thousand, and the states-general one hundred and two thousand, of which there were forty-two thousand intended to supply their garrisons, and sixty thousand to act against the common enemy in the field; and with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by Great Britain and the states-general; the quota of ships to be furnished for that service, being five-eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three-eighths on the part of the states-general.

Upon this foot the war began in the year 1702, at which time the whole yearly expense of it to England, amounted to three millions seven hundred and six thousand four hundred ninety-four pounds; a very great charge, as it was then thought by your majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed from the burden of the former war; but yet a very moderate proportion in comparison with the load which hath since been laid upon them; for it appears, by estimates given in to your commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service for this present year, in the same manner as it was performed the last year, amount to more than

than six millions, nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds, besides interest for the publick debt, and the deficiencies accruing the last year; which two articles require one million one hundred and forty-three thousand pounds more: so that the whole demands upon your commons are arisen to more than eight millions for the present annual supply. We know your majesty's tender regard for the welfare of your people will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a pressure as this upon them: and as we are assured it will fully convince your majesty of the necessity of our present inquiry, so we beg leave to represent to you from what causes, and by what steps, this immense charge appears to have grown upon us.

The service at sea as it hath been very large and extensive in itself, so it hath been carried on through the whole course of the war, in a manner highly disadvantageous to your majesty and your kingdom; for the necessity of affairs requiring, that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as well for the maintaining a superiority in the Mediterranean, as for opposing any force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk or in the ports of West France, your majesty's example and readiness in fitting out your proportion of ships for all parts of that service, have been so far from prevailing with the states-general to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your majesty hath furnished, sometimes no less than two-thirds, and generally more than half of their quota. From hence your majesty has been obliged, for the preventing dis-

appointments in the most pressing services, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships; nor hath the single increase of such a charge been the only ill consequence that attended it; for by this means, the debt of the navy hath been inhanced, so that the discounts arising upon the credit of it, have affected all other parts of the service; from the same cause, your majesty's ships of war have been forced in greater numbers to continue in remote seas, and at unseasonable times of the year, to the great damage and decay of the British navy; this also hath been the occasion, that your majesty hath been streightened in your convoys for trade, your coasts have been exposed for want of a sufficient number of cruizers to guard them, and you have been disabled from annoying the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with the West Indies, from whence they have received those vast supplies of treasure, without which they could not have supported the expenses of this war.

That part of the war which hath been carried on in Flanders, was at first immediately necessary to the security of the states-general, and hath since brought them great acquisitions both of revenue and dominion: yet, even there, the original proportions have been departed from, and, during the course of the war, have been sinking by degrees on the part of Holland; so that, in this last year, we find the number in which they fell short of their three-fifths to your majesty's two-fifths, to have been twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven men: we are not unmindful,

mindful, that in the year 1703, a treaty was made between the two nations, for a joint augmentation of twenty thousand men, wherein the proportions were varied, and England consented to take half upon itself: but it having been annexed, as an express condition to the grant of the said augmentation in parliament, that the states-general should prohibit all trade and commerce with France; and that condition having not been performed by them, the commons think it reasonable, that the first rule of three to two ought to have taken place again, as well in that as in other subsequent augmentations; more especially when they consider, that the revenues of those rich provinces which have been conquered, would, if they were duly applied, maintain a great number of new additional forces against the common enemy, notwithstanding which, the states-general have raised none upon that account, but make use of those fresh supplies of money, only to ease themselves in the charge of their first established quota.

As in the progress of the war in Flanders, a disproportion was soon created, to the prejudice of England, so the very beginning of the war in Portugal brought an unequal share of burden upon us. For, although the emperor and the states-general were equally parties with your majesty in the treaty with the king of Portugal, yet the emperor neither furnishing his third part of the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the Dutch consenting to take an equal share of his imperial majesty's defect upon themselves, your majesty hath been obliged to furnish two-thirds of the

entire expense created by that service: nor has the inequality stopped there; for ever since the year one thousand seven hundred and six, when the English and Dutch forces marched out of Portugal into Castile, the states-general have entirely abandoned the war in Portugal, and left your majesty to prosecute it singly at your own charge, which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater number of troops there, than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the same time, your majesty's generous endeavours, for the support and defence of the king of Portugal, have been but ill seconded by that prince himself; for notwithstanding that by his treaty he had obliged himself to furnish twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse, upon his own account, besides eleven thousand foot, and two thousand horse more, in consideration of a subsidy paid to him; yet, according to the best information your commons can procure, it appears, that he hath scarce at any time furnished thirteen thousand men in the whole.

In Spain the war hath been yet more unequal and burdensome to your majesty, than in any other branch of it; for being commenced without any treaty whatsoever, the allies have almost wholly declined taking any part of it upon themselves. A small body of English and Dutch troops were sent thither, in the year 1705, not as being thought sufficient to support a regular war, or to make the conquest of so large a country, but with a view only of assisting the Spaniards to set king Charles upon the throne, occasioned by the great assurances which were given of their inclinations

to

to the house of Austria: but this expectation failing, England was insensibly drawn into an established war, under all the disadvantages of the distance of the place, and the feeble efforts of the other allies. The account we have to lay before your majesty, upon this head, is, that although this undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest request of the imperial court, and for a cause of no less importance and concern to them, than the reducing the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria; yet neither the late emperors, nor his present imperial majesty, have ever had any forces there on their own account, till the last year, and then only one regiment of foot, consisting of two thousand men: though the states-general have contributed something more to this service, yet their share also hath been inconsiderable; for, in the space of four years, from 1705 to 1707, both inclusive, all the forces they have sent into that country have not exceeded twelve thousand two hundred men; and from the year 1708, to this time, they have not sent any forces or recruits whatsoever. To your majesty's care and charge, the recovery of that kingdom hath been in a manner wholly left, as if none else were interested or concerned in it: and the forces which your majesty hath sent into Spain, in the space of seven years, from one thousand seven hundred and five, to one thousand seven hundred and eleven, both inclusive, have amounted to no less than fifty-seven thousand nine hundred seventy-three men, besides thirteen battalions and eighteen squadrons, for which your majesty hath paid a subsidy to

the

the emperor. How great the established expense of such a number of men hath been, your majesty very well knows, and your commons very sensibly feel: but the weight will be found much greater, when it is considered how many heavy articles of unusual and extraordinary charge have attended this remote and difficult service; all which have been entirely defrayed by your majesty, except that one of transporting the few forces which were sent by the states-general, and the victualling of them, during their transportation only. The accounts delivered to your commons show, that the charge of your majesty's ships and vessels, employed in the service of the war in Spain and Portugal, reckoned after the rate of four pounds a man *per* month, from the time they sailed from hence, till they returned, were lost, or put upon other services, hath amounted to six millions five hundred and forty thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds, fourteen shillings. The charge of transports, on the part of Great Britain, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, from the beginning of it till this time, hath amounted to one million three hundred thirty-six thousand seven hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings, and eleven pence. That of victualling land forces for the same service, to five hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy pounds, eight shillings, and six-pence; and that of contingencies, and other extraordinaries for the same service, to one million eight hundred and forty thousand three hundred fifty-three pounds.

We should take notice to your majesty, of several

veral sums paid upon account of contingencies and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together the sum of one million one hundred and seven thousand ninety-six pounds: but we are not able to make any comparison of them, with what the states-general have expended upon the same head, having no such state of their extraordinary charge before us. There remains, therefore, but one particular more for your majesty's observation, which arises from the subsidies paid to foreign princes: these, at the beginning of the war, were born in equal proportion by your majesty and the states-general; but in this instance also the balance hath been cast in prejudice of your majesty: for it appears, that your majesty hath since advanced more than your equal proportion, three millions one hundred and fifty-five thousand crowns, besides extraordinaries paid in Italy, and not included in any of the foregoing articles, which arise to five hundred thirty-nine thousand five hundred fifty-three pounds.

We have laid these several particulars before your majesty, in the shortest manner we have been able; and by an estimate grounded on the preceding facts, it does appear, that over and above the quotas on the part of Great Britain, answering to those contributed by your allies, more than nineteen millions have been expended by your majesty during the course of this war, by way of surplusage or exceeding, in balance of which, none of the confederates have furnished any thing whatsoever.

It is with very great concern, that we find so much

much occasion given us to represent, how ill an use hath been made of your majesty's and your subjects zeal for the common cause, that the interest of that cause hath not been proportionably promoted by it, but others only have been eased at your majesty's and your subjects cost, and have been connived at in laying their part of the burden upon this kingdom, although they have upon all accounts been equally, and, in most respects, much more nearly concerned, than Britain, in the issue of the war. We are persuaded, your majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some resentment, to complain of the little regard which some of those, whom your majesty of late years intrusted, have shewn to the interests of their country, in giving way, at least, to such unreasonable impositions upon it, if not in some measure contriving them: the course of which impositions hath been so singular and extraordinary, that the more the wealth of this nation hath been exhausted, and the more your majesty's arms have been attended with success, the heavier hath been the burden laid upon us; whilst, on the other hand, the more vigorous your majesty's efforts have been, and the greater the advantages which have redounded thence to your allies, the more those allies have abated in their share of the expense.

At the first entrance into this war, the commons were induced to exert themselves in the extraordinary manner they did, and to grant such large supplies, as had been unknown to former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that, in which they were

were necessarily engaged, to a speedy conclusion: but they have been very unhappy in the event, whilst they have so much reason to suspect, that what was intended to shorten the war, hath proved the very cause of its long continuance; for those to whom the profits of it have accrued, have not been disposed easily to forego them: and your majesty will from thence discern the true reason, why so many have delighted in a war, which brought in so rich an harvest yearly from Great Britain.

We are as far from desiring, as we know your majesty will be from concluding, any peace, but upon safe and honourable terms; and we are far from intending to excuse ourselves from raising all necessary and possible supplies for an effectual prosecution of the war, till such a peace can be obtained. All that your faithful commons aim at, all that they wish, is, an equal concurrence from the other powers engaged in alliance with your majesty, and a just application of what hath been already gained from the enemy towards promoting the common cause. Several large countries and territories have been restored to the house of Austria; such as the kingdom of Naples, the dutchy of Milan, and other places in Italy: others have been conquered, and added to their dominions, as the two electorates of Bavaria and Cologn, the dutchy of Mantua, and the bisoprick of Liege; these having been reduced in great measure by our blood and treasure, may, we humbly conceive, with great reason, be claimed to come in aid towards carrying on the war in Spain; and therefore we make it our earnest request

quest to your majesty, that you will give instructions to your ministers to insist with the emperor, that the revenues of those several places, excepting only such a portion thereof as is necessary for their defence, be actually so applied. And as to the other parts of the war, to which your majesty hath obliged yourself by particular treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech your majesty, that you will be pleased to take effectual care that your allies do perform their parts stipulated by those treaties; and that your majesty will, for the future, no otherwise furnish troops, or pay subsidies, than in proportion to what your allies shall actually furnish and pay. When this justice is done to your majesty, and to your people, there is nothing which your commons will not cheerfully grant, towards supporting your majesty in the cause in which you are engaged. And whatever farther shall appear to be necessary for carrying on the war, either at sea or land, we will effectually enable your majesty to bear your reasonable share of any such expense, and will spare no supplies which your subjects are able, with their utmost efforts, to afford.

After having inquired into, and considered the state of the war, in which the part your majesty has born appears to have been not only superior to that of any one ally, but even equal to that of the whole confederacy; your commons naturally inclined to hope, that they should find, care had been taken of securing some particular advantages to Britain, in the terms of a future peace; such as might afford a prospect of making the nation amends in time for that immense treasure which hath

hath been expended, and those heavy debts which have been contracted in the course of so long and burdensome a war. This reasonable expectation could no way have been better answered, than by some provision made for the farther security, and the greater improvement, of the commerce of Great Britain: but we find ourselves so very far disappointed in these hopes, that in a treaty not long since concluded between your majesty and the states-general, under colour of a mutual guarantee given for two points of the greatest importance to both nations, the succession and the barrier, it appears, the interest of Great Britain hath been not only neglected, but sacrificed; and that several articles in the said treaty are destructive to the trade and welfare of this kingdom, and therefore highly dishonorable to your majesty.

Your commons observe, in the first place, that several towns and places are, by virtue of this treaty, to be put into the hands of the states-general; particularly Newport, Dendermond, and the castle of Ghent; which can, in no sense, be looked upon as part of a barrier against France; but being the keys of the Netherlands towards Britain, must make the trade of your majesty's subjects in those parts precarious; and whenever the States think fit, totally exclude them from it. The pretended necessity of putting these places into the hands of the states-general, in order to secure to them a communication with their barrier, must appear vain and groundless: for the sovereignty of the Low Countries being not to remain to an enemy, but to a friend and an ally, that

that communication must be always secure, and uninterrupted: besides that, in case of a rupture, or an attack, the states have full liberty allowed them to take possession of all the Spanish Netherlands, and therefore needed no particular stipulation for the towns abovementioned.

Having taken notice of this concession made to the states-general for seizing upon the whole ten provinces, we cannot but observe to your majesty, that in the manner this article is framed, it is another dangerous circumstance which attends this treaty: for had such a provision been confined to the case of an apparent attack from France only, the avowed design of this treaty had been fulfilled, and your majesty's instructions to your ambassador had been pursued: but this necessary restriction hath been omitted; and the same liberty is granted to the States to take possession of all the Netherlands, whenever they shall think themselves attacked by any other neighbouring nation, as when they shall be in danger from France; so that, if it should at any time happen (which your commons are very unwilling to suppose) that they should quarrel even with your majesty; the riches, strength, and advantageous situation of these countries may be made use of against yourself, without whose generous and powerful assistance they had never been conquered.

To return to those ill consequences which relate to the trade of your kingdoms, we beg leave to observe to your majesty, that though this treaty revives and renders your majesty a party to the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the

treaty

treaty of Munster, by virtue of which, the impositions upon all goods and merchandizes brought into the Spanish Low Countries by the sea are to equal those laid on goods and merchandizes imported by the Scheld, and the canals of Sass and Swyn, and other mouths of the sea adjoining; yet no care is taken to preserve that equality upon the exportation of those goods out of the Spanish provinces, into those countries and places, which by virtue of this treaty are to be in the possession of the States. The consequence of which must in time be, and your commons are informed that in some instances it has already proved to be the case, that the impositions upon goods carried into those countries and places by the subjects of the states-general, will be taken off, whilst those upon the goods imported by your majesty's subjects remain; by which means Great Britain will entirely lose this most beneficial branch of trade, which it hath been in all ages possessed of, even from the time when those countries were governed by the house of Burgundy, one of the most ancient, as well as the most useful, allies to the crown of England.

With regard to the other dominions and territories of Spain, your majesty's subjects have always been distinguished in their commerce with them, and both by ancient treaties, and an uninterrupted custom, have enjoyed greater privileges and immunities of trade, than either the Hollanders, or any other nation whatsoever. And that wise and excellent treaty of the grand alliance provides effectually for the security and continuance of these valuable privileges to Britain, in

such

such a manner, as that each nation might be left at the end of the war upon the same foot as it stood at the commencement of it. But this treaty we now complain of, instead of confirming your subjects rights, surrenders and destroys them: for, although by the sixteenth and seventeeth articles of the treaty of Munster, made between his catholick majesty and the states-general, all advantages of trade are stipulated for, and granted to the Hollanders, equal to what the English enjoyed; yet, the crown of England not being a party to that treaty, the subjects of England have never submitted to those articles of it, nor even the Spaniards themselves ever observed them: but this treaty revives those articles in prejudice of Great Britain, and makes your majesty a party to them, and even a guarantee to the states-general for privileges against your own people.

In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner your majesty's ambassador consented to deprive your subjects of their ancient rights, and your majesty of the power of procuring to them any new advantage, most evidently appears from his own letters, which, by your majesty's directions, have been laid before your commons: for when matters of advantage to your majesty and to your kingdom had been offered as proper to be made parts of this treaty, they were refused to be admitted by the states-general, upon this reason and principle, that nothing foreign to the guarantees of the succession, and of the barrier, should be mingled with them; notwithstanding which, the states-general had no sooner received notice of a treaty of commerce concluded between your majesty

jesty and the present emperor, but they departed from the rule proposed before, and insisted upon the article of which your commons now complain, which article your majesty's ambassador allowed of, although equally foreign to the succession, or the barrier; and although he had for that reason departed from other articles which would have been for the service of his own country.

We have forborn to trouble your majesty with general observations upon this treaty, as it relates to, and affects the empire, and other parts of Europe. The mischiefs which arise from it to Great Britain are what only we have presumed humbly to represent to you. As they are very evident, and very great; and as it appears that the lord viscount Townsend had not any orders or authority for concluding several of those articles which are most prejudicial to your majesty's subjects, we have thought we could do no less, than declare your said ambassador, who negotiated and signed, and all others who advised the ratifying of this treaty, enemies to your majesty and your kingdom.

Upon these faithful informations and advices from your commons, we assure ourselves, your majesty, in your great goodness to your people, will rescue them from those evils, which the private counsels of ill-designing men have exposed them to; and that in your great wisdom you will find some means for the explaining and amending the several articles of this treaty, so as that they may consist with the interest of Great Britain, and with a real and lasting friendship between your majesty and the states-general.

HER

HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS ANSWER.

THIS representation is a farther instance of that dutiful affection to my service, and concern for the publick interest, which this house of commons has always shewn.

You may be assured, that I will give such orders, as shall effectually answer what you desire of me in every particular.

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES AND OF THE LATE MINISTRY, IN BEGINNING AND CARRYING ON THE PRESENT WAR*.

Partem tibi Gallia nostri
Eripuit: Partem duris Hispania bellis:
Pars jacet Hesperia, totoque exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit.

Odimus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis.
Victrix Provincia plorat†.
Juv. Sat. I. 50.

* First published by J. Morphew, Nov. 27, 1711; a second edition, Nov. 30; the third, Dec. 2; and the fourth, Dec. 6. The uncommon pains which were taken by Dr. Swift in writing this pamphlet will appear by an attentive perusal of his Journal to Stella, from Oct. 30 to Dec. 13, inclusive. N.

† One of these mottos was furnished by the lord treasurer. See Journal to Stella, Nov. 27. N.

*** "The Conduct of the Allies," Remarks on the Barrier Treaty," the "Examiner," and the "Public Spirit of the Whigs," all conspire to lay open the secret springs of affairs, not only in England, but throughout Europe. The first of them particularly will be the basis for all who write the history of those times to build upon; as it detects the artifices of the ministry, which the nation was at that time diverted from attending to by a course of victories; and exposes the baldness of our general, that ought not to be concealed by his laurels. The author, being admitted to an intimacy with the new prime minister, received, no doubt, assistance from so able a friend; and he tells us, he detained the publication of three several editions of this piece, that he might have all the advantage he could from his enemies. This tract (which was written preparatory to the peace which the ministers were then concluding), and the Remarks on the Barrier Treaty, contain the principal facts, which the author of John Bull has thrown into allegory; and greatly illustrate that piece, of which indeed it is possible they were the ground-work. H.

"The purpose of this pamphlet was, to persuade the nation to a peace; and never had any writer more success. The people, who had been amused with bonfires and triumphal processions, and looked with idolatry on the general and his friends, who, as they thought, had made England the arbitress of nations, were confounded between shame and rage, when they found that "mines had been exhausted, and millions destroyed," to secure the Dutch, or aggrandize the Emperor, without any advantage to ourselves; that we had been bribing our neighbours to fight their own quarrel; and that amongst our enemies we might number our allies. That is now no longer doubted, of which the nation was then first informed, that the war was unnecessarily protracted, to fill the pockets of Marlborough; and that it would have been continued without end, if he could have continued his annual plunder. But Swift, I suppose, did not yet know what he has since written, that a commission was drawn, which would have appointed him general for life, had it not become ineffectual by the resolution of lord Cowper, who refused the seal. JOHNSON.

PREFACE.

I CANNOT sufficiently admire the industry of a sort of men, wholly out of favour with the prince and people, and openly professing a separate interest from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raise at this juncture so great a clamour against a peace, without offering one single reason, but what we find in their ballads. I lay it down for a maxim, that no reasonable man, whether whig or tory, (since it is necessary to use those foolish terms) can be of opinion for continuing the war upon the footing it now is, unless he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new turn of affairs at home, to the advantage of his party; or, lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first cases, where interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: but, as to the last, I think it highly necessary, that the publick should be freely and impartially told, what circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those, whom they trusted so many years with the disposal of their blood and treasure, and what the consequences of this management

are likely to be, upon themselves and their posterity.

Those who, either by writing or discourse, have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late ministry in the management of the war, and of the treaty at Gertruydenburgh, have spent time in celebrating the conduct and valour of our leaders and their troops, in summing up the victories they have gained, and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us, what high articles were insisted on by our ministers, and those of the confederates, and what pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least satisfaction to the just complaints of the kingdom. As to the war, our grievances are, that a greater load has been laid on us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to, for the advancement of private wealth and power, or, in order to forward the more dangerous designs of a faction, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace we complain of being deluded by a mock treaty; in which, those who negotiated took care to make such demands, as they knew were impossible to be complied with; and therefore might securely press every article as if they were in earnest.

These are some of the points I design to treat of in the following discourse: with several others, which

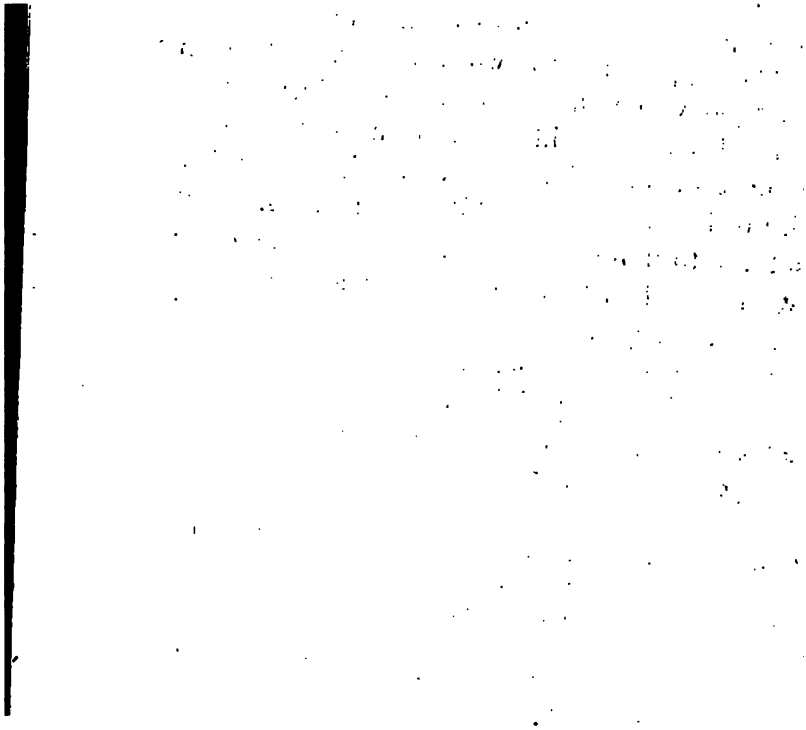
I thought* it necessary at this time for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those facts I mention; at least not in any circumstance so material, as to weaken the consequences I draw from them.

After ten years war with perpetual success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good peace, is very surprising, and seems so different from what has ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed suspecting†, that we have been either ill used, or have not made the most of our victories, and might therefore desire to know where the difficulty lay. Then it is natural to inquire into our present condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this rate; what the consequences may be upon the present and future ages; and whether a peace, without that impracticable point which some people do so much insist on, be really ruinous in itself, or equally so, with the continuance of the war.

* 'Which I thought,' &c. This sentence is bald in the expression, and badly arranged. It should run thus—of which I thought it necessary at this time 'that' the kingdom should be informed. S.

† 'May be allowed suspecting' is ungrammatical, it should be—'may be allowed to suspect,' &c. S.

THE



THE

CONDUCT

OF

THE ALLIES, &c.

THE motives that may engage a wise prince or state in a war, I take to be one or more of these: either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbour; to recover what has been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some injury they have received, which all political casuists allow; to assist some ally in a just quarrel; or, lastly, to defend themselves when they are invaded. In all these cases, the writers upon politicks admit a war to be justly undertaken. The last is, what has been usually called *pro aris et focis;* where no expense or endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently our utmost force to be exerted; and the dispute is soon determined, either in safety, or utter destruction. But in the other four, I believe, it will be found, that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree; never proceeding so far as to exhaust the strength and substance of their country by anticipations and loans, which, in a few years, must put them in a worse condition than any they could reasonably apprehend from those evils, for the preventing

of which they first entered into the war; because this would be to run into real infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might, perhaps, but appear so, by a probable speculation.

And as a war should be undertaken upon a just and prudent motive, so it is still more obvious, that a prince ought naturally to consider the condition he is in, when he enters on it; whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich by a long peace and free trade, not overpressed with many burdensome taxes; no violent faction ready to dispute his just prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and lessen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter, with honour and safety.

Supposing the war to have commenced upon a just motive; the next thing to be considered, is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace; which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for, or when that point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, although with probability of gaining that point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a worse condition than the present loss of it. All which considerations are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which, in a variety of interests among the several parties, is liable to so many unforeseen accidents.

In

In a confederate war, it ought to be considered which party has the deepest share in the quarrel: for although each may have their particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest part of the burden, in proportion to their strength. For example: two princes may be competitors for a kingdom; and it will be your interest to take the part of him, who will probably allow you good conditions of trade rather than of the other, who may possibly not. However, that prince, whose cause you espouse, although never * so vigorously, is the principal in that war, and you, properly speaking, are but a second. Or a commonwealth may lie in danger to be overrun by a powerful neighbour, which, in time, may produce very bad consequences upon your trade and liberty: it is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them assistances and help them to win a strong secure frontier; but, as they must, in course, be the first and greatest sufferers, so, in justice, they ought to bear the greatest weight. If a house be on fire, it behoves all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is sure to be undone first: and it is not impossible, that those at next door may escape by a shower from Heaven, or the stillness of the weather, or some other favourable accident.

* This phrase, in which the word, *never*, is improperly used instead of, *ever*, has been adopted by most writers; to show its absurdity it will be only necessary to examine how the same thing is expressed in a different mode, as thus—how*ever* vigorously—how vigorously so*ever*. How monstrous would it appear to say, how never vigorously! how vigorously so never! S.

But

But, if any ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill fortune of the war, be so generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought at least to have his share in what is conquered from the enemy; or, if his romantick disposition transport him so far, as to expect little or nothing from this, he might however hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and respect; and he would surely think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his domestick affairs, prescribing what servants he should keep, or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable demands, and at every turn threatening to break the alliance, if he will not comply.

From these reflections upon war in general, I descend to consider those wars wherein England has been engaged since the conquest. In the civil wars of the barons, as well as those between the houses of York and Lancaster, great destruction was made of the nobility and gentry; new families raised, and old ones extinguished; but the money spent on both sides, was employed and circulated at home; no publick debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly set all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion against king Charles I. The usurpers maintained great armies in constant pay, had almost continual war with Spain or Holland; but, managing it by their fleets, they increased very much the riches of the kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our foreign wars were generally against Scotland,

land, or France; the first, being in this island, carried no money out of the kingdom, and were seldom of long continuance. During our first wars with France, we possessed great dominions in that country, where we preserved some footing till the reign of queen Mary; and although some of our later princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a subsidy and two or three fifteenths cleared all the debt. Besides, our victories were then of some use as well as glory; for we were so prudent as to fight, and so happy as to conquer, only for ourselves.

The Dutch wars in the reign of king Charles II. although begun and carried on under a very corrupt administration, and much to the dishonour of the crown, did indeed keep the king needy and poor, by discontinuing or discontenting his parliament, when he most needed their assistance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

At the Revolution, a general war broke out in Europe, wherein many princes joined in alliance against France to check the ambitious designs of that monarch; and here the Emperor, the Dutch, and England were principals. About this time, the custom first began among us, of borrowing millions upon funds of interest. It was pretended, that the war could not possibly last above one or two campaigns; and that the debts contracted might be easily paid in a few years by a gentle tax, without burdening the subject. But the true reason for embracing this expedient, was, the security of a new prince, not firmly settled on the throne. People were tempted to lend, by great premiums

premiums and large interest; and it concerned them nearly to preserve that government, which they had trusted with their money. The person* said to have been author of so detestable a project, lived to see some of its fatal consequences, whereof his grandchildren will not see an end. And this pernicious counsel closed very well with the posture of affairs at that time: for a set of upstarts, who had little or no part in the Revolution, but valued themselves upon their noise and pretended zeal when the work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of loans and funds: these, finding that the gentlemen of estates were not willing to come into their measures, fell upon those new schemes of raising money, in order to create a monied interest, that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head.

The ground of the first war for ten years after the Revolution, as to the part we had in it, was to make France acknowledge the late king, and to recover Hudson's Bay. But during that whole war the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of six millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch; for the king was a general, but not an admiral; and although king of England, was a native of Holland.

After ten years fighting to little purpose, after the loss of above a hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of peace, which was concluded wth great advantages to the empire and

* Dr. Burnet, bishop of Sarum. H.

Holland,

Holland, but none at all to us; and clogged soon after with the famous treaty of partition, by which Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain, were to be added to the French dominions; or, if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty, upon the Spaniards refusing to accept it, as they declared they would to the several parties at the very time of the transacting it, then the French would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event; for the late king of Spain, reckoning it an indignity to have his territories cantoned out into parcels by other princes, during his own life, and without his consent, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger son of France; and this prince was acknowledged for king of Spain, both by us and Holland.

It must be granted, that the counsels of entering into this war were violently opposed by the church-party, who first advised the late king to acknowledge the duke of Anjou; and particularly it is affirmed, that a certain great person *, who was then in the church interest, told the king in November, 1701, that since his majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his private opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment; although he happened afterwards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the treasury, and have the sole management of affairs at home, while those abroad were to be in the hands of one *, whose advantage, by all sorts of ties, he was engaged to promote.

* Earl of Godolphin. H. * Duke of Marlborough. H.

The

The declarations of war against France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the States, they say very truly, that they are nearest and most exposed to the fire; that they are blocked up on all sides, and actually attacked by the kings of France and Spain; that their declaration is the effect of an urging and pressing necessity; with other expressions to the same purpose. They desire the assistance of all kings and princes, &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France, are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state; such as, the French refusing to grant the Tariff promised by the treaty of Ryswick; the loading of the Dutch inhabitants settled in France, with excessive duties, contrary to the said treaty; the violation of the Partition Treaty by the French accepting the king of Spain's will, and threatening the States if they would not comply; the seizing of the Spanish Netherlands by the French troops, and turning out the Dutch, who, by permission of the late king of Spain, were in garrison there; by which means that republick was deprived of her barrier, contrary to the treaty of partition, where it was particularly stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should be left to the archduke. They alleged, that the French king governed Flanders as his own, although under the name of his grandson, and sent great numbers of troops thither to fright them*; that he had seized

* This the author of John Bull calls "frighting the children out of their bread and butter." H.

the

the city and citadel of Liege; had possessed himself of several places in the archbishoprick of Cologne, and maintained troops in the country of Wolfenbuttle, in order to block up the Dutch on all sides; and caused his resident to give in a memorial, wherein he threatened the States to act against them, if they refused complying with the contents of that memorial.

The queen's declaration of war is grounded upon the grand alliance, as this was upon the unjust usurpations and encroachments of the French king; whereof the instances produced are, his keeping in possession a great part of the Spanish dominions, seizing Milan and the Spanish Low-countries, making himself master of Cadiz, &c. And instead of giving satisfaction in these points, his putting an indignity and affront on her majesty and kingdoms by declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England, &c. Which last was the only personal quarrel we had in the war; and even this was positively denied by France, that king being willing to acknowledge her majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations, that England ought no more to have been a principal in this war than Prussia, or any other power, who came afterward into that alliance. Holland was first in danger, the French troops being at that time just at the gates of Nimeguen. But the complaints made in our declaration do all, except the last, as much, or more concern almost every prince in Europe.

For, among the several parties, who came first or last into this confederacy, there were few but who,

who*, in proportion, had more to get or lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill success of this war, than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend themselves from immediate ruin; and by a successful war, they proposed to have a large extent of country, and a better frontier against France. The emperor hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or some part of it, for his younger son, chiefly at the expense of us and Holland. The king of Portugal had received intelligence, that Philip designed to renew the old pretensions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is surrounded by the other on all sides, except toward the sea; and could therefore only be defended by maritime powers. This, with the advantageous terms offered by king Charles, as well as by us, prevailed with that prince to enter into the alliance. The duke of Savoy's temptations and fears were yet greater: the main charge of the war on that side was to be supplied by England, and the profit to redound to him. In case Milan should be conquered, it was stipulated, that his highness should have the duchy of Montserrat belonging to the duke of Mantua, the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia and Lomellino with other lands between the Po and the Tanaro together with the Vigevenasco, or in lieu of it an equivalent out of the province of Novara, adjoining to his own state; beside whatever else could be taken from France on that side by th-

* 'There were few but who,' &c.—This is a bad mode of phraseology, and should be changed to the following—'there were few who, in proportion, had not more to get or to lose,' &c. S.

confedra-e

confederate forces. Then he was in terrible apprehensions of being surrounded by France, who had so many troops in the Milanese, and might have easily swallowed up his whole duchy.

The rest of the allies came in purely for subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable sums into their own coffers, and refused to send their contingent to the Emperor, alleging their troops were already hired by England and Holland.

Some time after the duke of Anjou's succeeding to the monarchy of Spain in breach of the partition treaty, the question here in England was, whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun. Those who were for the former, alleged the debts and difficulties we laboured under; that both we and the Dutch had already acknowledged Philip for king of Spain; that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the house of Austria, and their aversion for that of Bourbon, were not so surely to be reckoned upon as some would pretend: that we thought it a piece of insolence as well as injustice, in the French, to offer putting* a king upon us, and the Spaniards would conceive we had as little reason to force one upon them: that it was true, the nature and genius of those two people differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood, as one of Austrian: but that if we would engage in a war for de-

* 'To offer putting' is ungrammatical; it should be—'to offer to put,' &c. or if in order to avoid the close conjunction of the two infinitives, and the repetition of the particle, 'to,' the participial mode be preferred, it should be—'to offer the putting of a king upon us.' S.

throning the duke of Anjou, we should certainly effect what by the progress and operations of it we endeavoured to prevent, I mean a union of interest and affections between the two nations; for the Spaniards must, of necessity, call in French troops to their assistance; this would introduce French counsellors into king Philip's court, and this, by degrees, would habituate and reconcile the two nations: that to assist king Charles by English and Dutch forces, would render him odious to his new subjects, who have nothing in so great abomination as those whom they hold for hereticks; that the French would by this means become masters of the treasures in the Spanish West Indies; that in the last war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria, were in our alliance, and by a modest computation brought sixty thousand men into the field against the common enemy; when Flanders, the seat of war, was on our side, and his majesty, a prince of great valour and conduct, at the head of the whole confederate army; yet we had no reason to boast of our success: how then should we be able to oppose France with those powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand men from us to the enemy; and so make us upon the balance weaker by one hundred and twenty thousand men at the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688?

On the other side, those, whose opinion, or some private motives inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new war, alleged, how dangerous it would be for England that Philip should be king of Spain; that we could have no

security

security for our trade while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the Bourbon family not any hopes of preserving the balance of Europe, because the grandfather would in effect be king, while his grandson had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of pursuing his design for universal monarchy. These, and the like arguments prevailed; and so without taking time to consider the consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engaged in a war, which has cost us sixty millions; and after repeated, as well as unexpected success in arms, has put us and our posterity in a worse condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole war, with reference to our allies abroad, and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine: where, I presume, it will appear by plain matters of fact, that no nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused, by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, and the ambition of its domestick enemies; or treated with so much insolence, injustice, and ingratitude by its foreign friends.

This will be manifest by proving the three following points:

First, that against all manner of prudence or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, that we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war, which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it: and made no efforts at all, where we could have most

weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves.

Lastly, that we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burden upon us.

Upon the first of these points, that we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries, let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: just come out of the most tedious, expensive, and unsuccessful war, that ever England had been engaged in*; sinking under heavy debts, of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our ancestors; the bulk of the gentry and people, heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, although it brought no other advantage but itself; no sudden prospect of lessening our taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our debts, as to raise armies; a sort of artificial wealth of funds and stocks, in the hands of those, who, for ten years before, had been plundering the publick; many corruptions in every branch of our governments that needed reformation. Under these difficulties, from which, twenty years peace and the wisest management could hardly recover us, we declare war against France, fortified by the accession and alliance of those powers, I mentioned before, and which, in the former war, had been parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious, what a change must be made in the balance, by such weights taken out of our scale,

* "I was then lean, being just come out of a fit of illness." *John Bull.* H.

and

and put into theirs; since it was manifest, by ten years experience, that France, without those additions of strength, was able to maintain itself against us. So that human probability ran with mighty odds on the other side; and in this case, nothing, under the most extreme necessity, should force any state to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for king of Spain; neither does the queen's declaration of war take notice of the duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy, as a subject of quarrel, but the French king's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spanish Low-countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the Pretender. In all which, we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last; and this, although indeed a great affront, might easily have been redressed without a war; for the French court declared they did not acknowledge the pretender, but only gave him the title of king, which was allowed to Augustus by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Stanislaus.

It is true, indeed, the danger of the Dutch, by so ill a neighbourhood in Flanders, might affect us very much in the consequences of it: and the loss of Spain to the house of Austria, if it should be governed by French influence, and French politicks, might, in time, be very pernicious to our trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour; and so we might have done without injuring ourselves; for, by an old treaty with

Holland,

Holland, we were bound to assist that republick with ten thousand men, whenever they were attacked by the French; whose troops, upon the king of Spain's death, taking possession of Flanders in right of Philip, and securing the Dutch garrisons till they would acknowledge him, the states-general, by memorials from their envoy here, demanded only the ten thousand men we were obliged to give them by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt, but the Dutch would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able, with that assistance alone, to defend their frontiers; or, if they had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor dismembering their monarchy, would never have suffered the French to possess themselves of Flanders. At that time they had none of those endearments to each other, which this war has created; and whatever hatred and jealousy were natural between the two nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity for us to proceed farther, although we had been in a better condition. But our politicians at that time had other views; and a new war must be undertaken, upon the advice of those, who, with their partizans and adherents, were to be sole gainers by it. A grand alliance was therefore made between the Emperor, England, and the states-general; by which, if the injuries complained of from France were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other with their whole strength.

Thus we became principal in a war in conjunction with

with two allies, whose share in the quarrel was beyond all proportion greater than ours. However I can see no reason, from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious expenses we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the whole strength of the nation, as understood in that treaty, to be the utmost that a prince can raise annually from his subjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not properly speaking his own strength, or that of the nation, but the entire substance of particular persons, which, not being able to raise out of the annual income of his kingdom, he takes upon security, and can only pay the interest. And by this method, one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a possibility left of being ever redeemed.

Surely it would have been enough for us to have suspended the payment of our debts, contracted in the former war; and to have continued our land and malt tax, with those others which have since been mortgaged: these, with some additions, would have made up such a sum, as with prudent management might, I suppose, have maintained a hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable quota in all conscience for that ally, who apprehended least danger, and expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been so unreasonable as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect that we should every year go between three and four millions in debt, (which hath been our case) because

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the French could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace so ruinous to us, as such a war. Posterity will be at a loss to conceive, what kind of spirit could possess their ancestors, who, after ten years suffering, by the unexampled politicks of a nation maintaining a war by annually pawning itself; and during a short peace, while they were looking back with horrour on the heavy load of debts they had contracted, universally condemning those pernicious counsels which had occasioned them; racking their invention for some remedies or expedients to mend their shattered condition; I say, that these very people, without giving themselves time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive war, for the same, or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent necessity. It is obvious in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same expenses, must every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he did before: and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, so does his inability to pay it. By the same proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten years war, as we did by the former; and if it were possible to continue it five years longer at the same rate, it would be as great a burden as the whole twenty. This computation being so easy and trivial, as it is almost a shame to mention it, posterity will think, that those who first advised the war, wanted either the sense or the honesty to consider it.

As we have wasted our strength and vital substance in this profuse manner, so we have shamefully

fully misapplied it to ends, at least very different from those for which we undertook the war; and often to effect others, which after a peace we may severely repent. This is the second article I proposed to examine.

We have now for ten years together turned the whole force and expense of the war, where the enemy was best able to hold us at a bay; where we could propose no manner of advantage to ourselves; where it was highly impolitick to enlarge our conquests; utterly neglecting that part, which would have saved and gained us many millions; which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to pursue; which would have soonest weakened the enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

Those who are fond of continuing the war, cry up our constant success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater, than in all human probability we had reason to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are passed; and now at last, like the sick man, we are just expiring with all sorts of good symptoms. Did the advisers of this war suppose it would continue ten years, without expecting the successes we have had; and yet, at the same time, determine that France must be reduced, and Spain subdued, by employing our whole strength upon Flanders? Did they believe the last war left us in a condition to furnish such vast supplies for so long a period, without involving us and our posterity in unextricable debts? If, after such miraculous doings, we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor

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can tell when we shall be so, although we should proceed without any reverse of fortune; what could we look for in the ordinary course of things, but a Flanders war of at least twenty years longer? Do they indeed think, a town taken for the Dutch is a sufficient recompense to us for six millions of money; which is of so little consequence to determine the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a town every campaign at the same price?

I say not this by any means to detract from the army, or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances: but when all this brings no real solid advantage to us; when it has no other end than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and to increase the fame and wealth of our general; I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be; and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both toward reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit to ourselves. But the case is still much harder; we are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting our substance, not for our own interest, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly; but, perhaps, to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may live to feel the effects of our own valour more sensibly, than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will

will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself, and feed many hundred thousand inhabitants; where all encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted: and which, added to their skill, industry, and parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every market of the world.

Our supply of forty thousand men, according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas of the emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons: enough to withstand all the power that France could bring against it; and we might have employed the rest much better, both for the common cause, and our own advantage.

The war in Spain must be imputed to the credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the imperial court, that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria*; as, upon the first appearance there with a few troops under the archduke, the whole

* The impropriety of this phraseology will appear, if we change the arrangement of the members of this sentence, placing them in their natural order, as thus—'that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria, as the whole kingdom would immediately revolt upon the first appearance there,' &c. —Here it is evident that instead of the particle, 'as,' the conjunction, 'that,' should be employed. 'Upon the first appearance there,' &c. This part of the sentence is also ungrammatical, and the whole might be changed thus—'that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria, that the whole kingdom would immediately revolt, upon the first appearance of the archduke there, with a few troops under his command.' S.

kingdom

kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried; and found the emperor to have deceived either us, or himself. Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious disadvantage, with great expense; and by a most corrupt management, the only general*, who, by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of the kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called home in discontent. By which our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.

In common prudence, we should either have pushed that war with the utmost vigour, in so fortunate a juncture, especially since the gaining of that kingdom was the great point for which we pretended to continue the war; or at least, when we had found, or made that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it; but have kept our troops on the defensive in Catalonia, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the common enemy and advantaging ourselves.

And what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us, wherein to employ the best of our strength, which, against the maxims of British policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected! I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass that the style of maritime powers, by which our

* The earl of Peterborow. H.

allies,

allies, in a sort of contemptuous manner, usually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the sea; and while some politicians were shewing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others to Savoy or Naples, that the West Indies should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original quota of forty thousand men in Flanders, and at the same time, by our fleets and naval forces, have so distressed the Spaniards, in the north and south seas of America, as to prevent any returns of money from thence, except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a maritime power; this, with any common degree of success, would soon have compelled France to the necessities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the archduke. But while we, for ten years, have been squandering away our money upon the continent, France has been wisely engrossing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ships to Lima and other ports, and there receiving ingots of gold and silver for French goods of little value; which, beside the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast sums at Cadiz, for our goods sent thence to the Spanish West Indies. All this we tamely saw and suffered, without the least attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private men at Bristol, who inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry, did, about three years ago, with a few vessels fitted out at their own charge, make a most successful voyage into those parts; took one

of

of the Aquapulco ships, very narrowly missed of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth, to show us what might have been done by the like management, by a publick undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to France and Spain, although we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now so impoverished, in what condition must they have been if that issue of wealth had been stopped?

But great events often turn upon very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the sea was not the duke of Marlborough's element; otherwise, the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the house of Austria would have been discontented. This has been the style of late years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we are confederates in a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burden upon us, we dare not think of any design (although against the common enemy) where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies, while we are ruining ourselves to conquer

conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess with shame, that this objection is true: for it is very well known, that while the design of Mr. Hill's expedition* remained a secret, it was suspected in Holland and Germany to be intended against Peru; whereupon the Dutch made every where their publick complaints; and the ministers at Vienna talked of it as an insolence in the queen to attempt such an undertaking; the failure of which (partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony, for whose relief and at whose entreaty it was in some measure designed) is no objection at all to an enterprise so well concerted, and with such fair probability of success †.

It was something singular, that the States should express their uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the Spanish West Indies; because it is agreed between us, whatever is conquered there, by us, or them, shall belong to the conqueror; which is the only article that I can call to mind in all our treaties or stipulations, with any view of interest to this kingdom; and for that very reason I suppose, among others, has been altogether neglected. Let those who think this a severe reflection, examine the whole

* The expedition in 1711, wherein sir Hovenden Walker commanded the fleet, and Mr. Hill the land forces for the reduction of India and Canada, and regaining the Newfoundland fishery, which the French had taken from us. H.

† "A Letter from an Old Whig in Town to a Modern Whig in the Country, upon the late Expedition to Canada," was published in 1711, by J. Morphew, and was written, I suspect, by Swift. N.

management

management of the present war by sea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, stipulations, and conventions, and consider whether the whole does not look as if some particular care and industry had been used, to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to Britain?

This kind of treatment from our principal allies has taught the same dialect to all the rest; so that there is hardly a petty prince, whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready upon every occasion to threaten us, that he will recall his troops (although they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand, however unreasonable.

Upon the third head, I shall produce some instances to show, how tamely we have suffered each of our allies, to infringe every article in those treaties and stipulations, by which they were bound; and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large subject, I shall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties, which may let us perceive how much those ministers valued or understood the true interest, safety, or honour of their country.

We have made two alliances with Portugal, an offensive and a defensive: the first, is to remain in force only during the present war; the second, to be perpetual. In the offensive alliance, the emperor, England, and Holland, are parties with Portugal; in the defensive only we and the States.

Upon the first article of the offensive alliance, it is to be observed, that although the grand alliance, as I have already said, allows England and Holland

Holland to possess for their own whatever each of them shall conquer in the Spanish West-Indies; yet, there we are quite cut out, by consenting that the archduke shall possess the dominions of Spain, in as full a manner as their late king Charles. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very article, in favour of Portugal, by subsequent stipulations; where we agree that king Charles shall deliver up Estremadura, Vigo, and some other places, to the Portuguese, as soon as we can conquer them from the enemy. They, who are guilty of so much folly and contradiction, know best, whether it proceeded from corruption or stupidity.

By two other articles (besides the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts) we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the king of Portugal's word, whenever he has a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are, his Portuguese majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion; and may send our fleets, whenever he pleases, upon his errands to some of the farthest parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts, till he thinks fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors, in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in a humour to ap-

prehend an invasion; which I believe is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defensive alliance with that crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care, in almost the same words, is taken, for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the States are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit; and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals.

In the offensive alliance, we took no care of having the assistance of Portugal, whenever we should be invaded; but in this it seems we are wiser; for that king is obliged to make war on France or Spain, whenever we or Holland are invaded by either; but before this, we are to supply them with the same forces both by sea and land, as if he were invaded himself. And this must needs be a very prudent and safe course for a maritime power to take, upon a sudden invasion; by which, instead of making use of our fleets and armies for our own defence, we must send them abroad for the defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article, we are told what this assistance is, which the Portuguese are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furnish ten men of war; and when England and Holland shall be invaded by France and Spain together, or by Spain alone, in either of these cases, those ten Portuguese men of war are to serve only upon

their

their own coasts; where no doubt they will be of mighty use to their allies, and terrour to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances, is not very material to inquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them; nor I suppose ever intended it; but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine that the king of Portugal and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign; the whole spirit and tenour of them quite through running only upon this single point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent except those ten ships, which, at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier treaty between Great Britain and Holland was concluded at the Hague on the 29th of October in the year 1709. In this treaty, neither her majesty nor her kingdoms have any interest or concern, farther than what is mentioned in the second, and the twentieth articles; by the former, the States are to assist the queen in defending the act of succession; and by the other, not to treat of a peace, till France has acknowledged the queen, and the succession of Hanover, and promised to remove the pretender out of that king's dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the States-general, that the

protestant succession should be preserved in England; because, such a popish prince as we apprehend would infallibly join with France in the ruin of that republick. And the Dutch are as much bound to support our succession, as they are tied to any part of a treaty, or league offensive and defensive against a common enemy, without any separate benefit upon that consideration. Her majesty is in the full peaceable possession of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people; among whom, hardly one in five thousand are in the pretender's interest. And whether the assistance of the Dutch, to preserve a right so well established, be an equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant articles in the rest of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impression of our settlement must it give abroad, to see our ministers offering such conditions to the Dutch, to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament! neither perhaps is it right, in point of policy or good sense, that a foreign power should be called in to confirm our succession by way of guarantee, but only to acknowledge it; otherwise we put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession, without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, *how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it* *.

* After the first edition, this sentence was thus altered by Dr. Swift: "However our posterity may hereafter, by the tyranny and oppression of any succeeding princes, be reduced to the fatal necessity of breaking in upon the excellent happy settlement now in force." The reasons for this alteration will appear in the Postscript to this pamphlet, which is inserted in the present edition of the Dean's Works. N.

As

As to the other articles, it is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make with France; being only the acknowledgment of her majesty as queen of her own dominions, and the right of succession by our own laws, which no foreign power has any pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty advantages from the States, the rest of the treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the present war, the Spanish Low-countries were to be recovered, and delivered to the king of Spain; but, by this treaty, that prince is to possess nothing in Flanders during the war; and after a peace, the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns, with their dependencies, and four hundred thousand crowns a year from the king of Spain, to maintain their garrisons. By which means, they will have the command of all Flanders, from Newport on the Sea, to Namur on the Maese, and be entirely masters of the Pais de Waas, the richest part of those provinces. Farther, they have liberty to garrison any place they shall think fit in the Spanish Low-countries, whenever there is an appearance of war; and consequently to put garrisons into Ostend, or where else they please, upon a rupture with England.

By this treaty likewise, the Dutch will in effect be entire masters of all the Low-countries; may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions, at their pleasure; and in that fer-

tile

ile country may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the disobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees, who are scattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture increases abroad, the clothing people of England will be necessitated, for want of employment, to follow; and in few years, by the help of the low interest of money in Holland, Flanders may recover that beneficial trade, which we got from them. The landed men of England will then be forced to re-establish the staples of wool abroad; and the Dutch, instead of being only the carriers, will become the original possessors of those commodities, with which the greatest part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increase their trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their strength at sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

All the ports in Flanders are to be subject to the like duties that the Dutch shall lay upon the Schelde, which is to be closed on the side of the States; thus all other nations are in effect shut out from trading with Flanders. Yet in the very same article it is said, that the States shall be favoured in all the Spanish dominions as much as Great Britain, or as the people most favoured. We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worse condition, as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great support of the king of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed any thing at all; and yet they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions. Of all this, the queen is under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee,

and

and that they shall possess their barrier, and their four hundred thousand crowns a year, even before a peace.

It is to be observed, that this treaty was only signed by one of our plenipotentiaries*; and I have been told that the other† was heard to say, he would rather lose his right hand than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he had then at court, he might have saved much of his country's honour, and got as much to himself; therefore, if the report be true, I am inclined to think he only said it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the Empire, England, and Holland, we were to assist the other two *totis viribus* by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions, which the several parties should contribute toward the war, were adjusted in the following manner: the emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in

* Lord Townsend. See John Bull. H.

† Duke of Marlborough. H.

Italy,

Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons: and we forty thousand. In winter 1702, which was the next year, the duke of Marlborough proposed raising ten thousand men more by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a par, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted with a condition, that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed; the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration, till our session of parliament was ended; and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and the States, without any reason assigned for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and some ensuing campaigns, farther additional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply, the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions, although the parliament addressed the queen, that the States might be desired to observe them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than, to teach them to elude it by making their troops nominal corps; as they did, by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money; so that now things are just inverted. And in all new levies, we contributed a third more than the Dutch, who, at first, were obliged to the same proportion more than we.

Besides,

Besides, the more towns we conquer for the States, the worse condition we are in toward reducing the common enemy; and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they make no scruple of employing the troops of their quota, toward garrisoning every town, as fast as it is taken; directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived, by several steps, to such a height, that there are at present in the field, not so many forces under the duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past.

The duke of Marlborough, having entered the enemy's lines and taken Bouchain, formed the design of keeping so great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Lisle, Tournay, Douay, and the country between, as should be able to harass all the neighbouring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and by consequence from subsisting their forces next spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their army another year, without going back behind the Soam to do it. In order to effect this project, it was necessary to be at an expense extraordinary of forage for the troops, for building stables, finding fire and candle for the soldiers, and other incident charges. The queen readily agreed to furnish her share of the first article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her. But the States insisting that her majesty should likewise come into a proportion of the other articles,

which

which in justice belonged totally to them; she agreed even to that, rather than a design of this importance should fail. And yet we know it has failed, and that the Dutch refused their consent, till the time was past for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contribution, submitted to by such of the French dominions as pay them to the States, was the principal cause of defeating this project; since one great advantage to have been gained by it, was, as before is mentioned, to have hindered the enemy from erecting their magazines; and one article in those treaties of contributions, is, that the product of those countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the question was reduced to this short issue: whether the Dutch should lose this paltry benefit, or the common cause an advantage of such mighty importance?

The sea being the element where we might most probably carry on the war with any advantage to ourselves, it was agreed that we should bear five-eighths of the charge in that service, and the Dutch the other three; and by the grand alliance, whatever we or Holland should conquer in the Spanish West Indies, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this maritime ally of ours, would have made up in their fleet, what they fell short in their army; but quite otherwise, they never once furnished their quota either of ships or men; or, if some few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing: for they immediately separated, to look to their

their merchants and protect their trade. And we may remember very well, when these guarantees of our succession, after having not one ship for many months together in the Mediterranean, sent that part of their quota thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invasion. And last year, when sir James Wishart was dispatched into Holland to expostulate with the States, and to desire they would make good their agreements in so important a part of the service; he met with such a reception as ill became a republick to give, that were under so many great obligations to us; in short, such a one, as those only deserve who are content to take it.

It has likewise been no small inconvenience to us, that the Dutch are always slow in paying their subsidies; by which means the weight and pressure of the payment lies upon the queen, as well as the blame, if her majesty be not very exact. Nor will this always content our allies: for in July, 1711, the king of Spain was paid all his subsidies to the first of January next; nevertheless he has since complained for want of money; and his secretary threatened, that if we would not farther supply his majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although king Charles had not at that time one-third of the troops for which he was paid; and even those he had, were neither paid nor clothed.

I cannot forbear mentioning here another passage concerning subsidies, to show what opinion foreigners have of our easiness, and how much they reckon themselves masters of our money, whenever

whenever they think fit to call for it. The queen was, by agreement, to pay two hundred thousand crowns a year to the Prussian troops; the States, one hundred thousand; and the emperor, only thirty thousand for recruiting; which his imperial majesty never paid. Prince Eugene happening to pass by Berlin, the ministers of that court applied to him for redress in this particular; and his highness very frankly promised them, that in consideration of this deficiency, Britain and the States should increase their subsidies to seventy thousand crowns more between them; and that the emperor should be punctual for the time to come. This was done by that prince without any orders or power whatsoever. The Dutch very reasonably refused consenting to it; but the Prussian minister here, making his applications at our court, prevailed on us to agree to our proportion, before we could hear what resolution would be taken in Holland. It is therefore to be hoped, that his Prussian majesty, at the end of this war, will not have the same cause of complaint, which he had at the close of the last; that his military chest was emptier by twenty thousand crowns than at the time that war began.

The emperor, as we have already said, was, by stipulation, to furnish ninety thousand men against the common enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and in right of his family being most concerned in the war. However, this agreement has been so ill observed, that, from the beginning of the war to this day, neither of the two last emperors had ever twenty thousand men,

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on their own account, in the common cause, excepting once in Italy; when the imperial court exerted itself in a point they have much more at heart, than that of gaining Spain or the Indies to their family. When they had succeeded in their attempts on the side of Italy, and observed our blind zeal for pushing on the war at all adventures, they soon found out the most effectual expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less, to make large presents to one single person, than to pay an army, and turn to as good account. They thought they could not put their affairs into better hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their battles.

Besides, it appeared by several instances how little the emperor regarded his allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the empire itself was secure. It is known enough, that he might several times have made a peace with his discontented subjects in Hungary, upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or interest; but he rather chose to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passion, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable people, who had but too much provocation to take up arms, to free themselves from the oppressions under which they were groaning; yet this must serve as an excuse for breaking his agreement, and diverting so great a body of troops, which might have been employed against France.

Another instance of the emperor's indifference, or rather dislike to the common cause of the allies, is the business of Toulon. This design

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was indeed discovered here at home, by a person whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain great man, at least as much noted for his skill in gaming, as in politicks, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers; which was then so common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in business, who having the curiosity to inquire how wagers went upon the Exchange, found some people deep in the secret to have been concerned in that kind of traffick; as appeared by premiums named for towns, which nobody but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this project had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding, yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the emperor had not thought fit, in that very juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize Naples, as an enterprize that was more his private and immediate interest. But it was manifest, that his imperial majesty had no mind to see Toulon in possession of the allies; for, even with these discouragements, the attempt might yet have succeeded, if prince Eugene had not thought fit to oppose it: which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to some politick reasons of his court. The duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy as soon as our army arrived; but when the mareschal de Thesse's troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jest. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of France would in a great measure have been destroyed.

But a much greater instance than either of the

the foregoing, how little the emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to save his imperial crown, and to assert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a war carried on upon the side of Italy would cause a great diversion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progress of our arms in Spain, as well as Flanders. It was proposed to the duke of Savoy to make this diversion, and not only a diversion during the summer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this side of the hills. Only, in order to make him willing and able to perform this work, two points were to be settled: first, it was necessary to end the dispute between the imperial court and his royal highness, which had no other foundation than the emperor's refusing to make good some articles of that treaty, on the faith of which, the duke engaged in the present war, and for the execution whereof, Britain and Holland became guarantees, at the request of the late emperor Leopold. To remove this difficulty, the earl of Peterborow was dispatched to Vienna, got over some part of those disputes to the satisfaction of the duke of Savoy, and had put the rest in a fair way of being accommodated, at the time the emperor Joseph died. Upon which great event, the duke of Savoy took the resolution of putting himself immediately at the head of the army, although the whole matter was not finished, since the common cause required his assistance; and that until a new emperor were

elected,

elected, it was impossible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked was, that he should be reinforced by the imperial court with eight thousand men, before the end of the campaign. Mr. Whitworth was sent to Vienna, to make this proposal; and it is credibly reported that he was empowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand pounds for the march of those eight thousand men, if he found it was want of ability, and not inclination, that hindered the sending of them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said, the ministers of that court did not so much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular sums; but cut off all his hopes at once, by alleging the impossibility of complying with the queen's demands, upon any consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old excuse of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end. They had nothing to offer but some general speculative reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so, after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an assistance; to the ruin of a project that would have more terrified France, and caused a greater diversion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus, for want of eight thousand men, for whose winter campaign the queen was willing to give forty thousand pounds; and for want of executing the design I lately mentioned, of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, toward which her majesty was ready not only to bear her own proportion,

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but a share of that which the States were obliged to; our hopes of taking winter quarters in the north and south parts of France are eluded, and the war left in that method, which is likely to continue it longest. Can there an example be given in the whole course of this war, where we have treated the pettiest prince, with whom we had to deal, in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate apprehensions of being invaded?

When Portugal came as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was stipulated, that the empire, England and Holland, should each maintain four thousand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between* them a million of pataccoons to the king of Portugal, for the support of twenty-eight thousand Portuguese; which number of forty thousand was to be the confederate army against Spain on the Portugal side. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a short time after, the emperor declared himself unable to comply with this part of the agreement, and so left the two-thirds upon us, who very generously undertook that burden, and at the same time two-thirds of the subsidies for maintenance of the Portuguese troops. But neither is this the worst part of the story; for although the Dutch did indeed send their own

* 'Between,' can never be used with propriety, when referring to three parties; it should be 'among,' or 'conjointly,' H.

particular quota of four thousand men to Portugal (which however they would not agree to but upon condition that the other two-thirds should be supplied by us) yet they never took care to recruit them: for in the year 1706, the Portuguese, British, and Dutch forces, having marched with the earl of Galway into Castile, and by the noble conduct of that general being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found necessary to raise a new army on the Portugal side; where the queen has, at several times, increased her establishment to ten thousand five hundred men; and the Dutch never replaced one single man, nor paid one penny of their subsidies to Portugal in six years.

The Spanish army on the side of Catalonia is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand men, exclusive of Portugal. And here the war has been carried on almost entirely at our cost. For this whole army is paid by the queen, excepting only seven battalions, and fourteen squadrons, of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our pay; beside the sums given to king Charles for subsidies, and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And farther, we alone have been at all the charge of transporting the forces first sent from Genoa to Barcelona; and of all the imperial recruits from time to time. And have likewise paid vast sums, as levy money, for every individual man and horse so furnished to recruit; although the horses were scarce worth the price of transportation. But this has been almost the constant misfortune

misfortune of our fleet during the present war; instead of being employed on some enterprize for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting soldiers.

We have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augsbourg, Landau, and great part of Alsace, for the emperor: and by the troops we have furnished, the armies we have paid, and the diversions we have given to the enemies forces, have chiefly contributed to the conquests of Milan, Mantua, and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the duchy of Modena. The last emperor drained the wealth of those countries into his own coffers, without increasing his troops against France by such mighty acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable requests we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have consented, by the barrier treaty, that all those which were not in the possession of Spain upon the death of the late catholick king, shall be part of the States dominions; and that they shall have the military power in the most considerable of the rest; which is, in effect, to be the absolute sovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made such good use of their time, that in conjunction with our general, the oppressions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, has been pretty well copied by most other princes in the confederacy, with whom we have any dealings. For instance: seven Portuguese regiments, after the battle of

Almanza, went off with the rest of that broken army to Catalonia; the king of Portugal said he was not able to pay them while they were out of his country; the queen consented therefore to do it herself, provided the king would raise as many more to supply their place. This he engaged to do, but he never performed. Notwithstanding which, his subsidies were constantly paid him by my lord Godolphin for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of those seven regiments; directly contrary to the seventh article of our offensive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction shall be made out of those subsidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement which the king is to maintain. But, whatever might have been the reasons for this proceeding, it seems they are above the understanding of the present lord treasurer*; who, not entering into those refinements of paying the publick money, upon private considerations, has been so uncourtly as to stop it. This disappointment, I suppose, has put the court of Lisbon upon other expedients, of raising the price of forage, so as to force us either to lessen our number of troops, or to be at double expense in maintaining them; and this, at a time when their own product, as well as the import of corn, was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the soldiers clothes we carried over for those troops, which have been their sole defence against an inveterate enemy; whose example might have infused courage, as well as taught them discipline,

* The earl of Oxford.

if

if their spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year, in the same proportion as those for whom we fight diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops from several princes of the empire, whose ministers and residents here have perpetually importuned the court with unreasonable demands, under which our late ministers have thought fit to be passive. For those demands were always backed with a threat to recall their soldiers; which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might discontent the Dutch. In the mean time those princes never sent their contingent to the emperor, as by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do; but gave for their excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

But, if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war contrary to reason; if, as the other party themselves upon all occasions acknowledge, the success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect; if, after all our success, we have not made that use of it which in reason we ought to have done; if we have made weak and foolish bargains with our allies; suffered them tamely to break every article, even in those bargains to our disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with insolence and contempt, at the very instant when we were gaining towns, provinces, and kingdoms for them, at the price of our ruin, and without any prospect of interest to ourselves; if we have consumed all our strength in attacking the enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old duke of Schomberg expressed

pressed it) to engage with France was to take a bull by the horns; and left wholly unattempted that part of the war, which could only enable us to continue or to end it; if all this, I say, be our case, it is a very obvious question to ask, by what motives, or what management, we are thus become the dupes and bubbles of Europe? Surely it cannot be owing to the stupidity arising from the coldness of our climate; since those among our allies, who have given us most reason to complain, are as far removed from the sun as ourselves.

If, in laying open the real causes of our present misery, I am forced to speak with some freedom, I think it will require no apology. Reputation is the smallest sacrifice those can make us, who have been the instruments of our ruin; because it is that, for which, in all probability, they have the least value. So that in exposing the actions of such persons, I cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an injury. But as it will be some satisfaction to our people to know by whom they have been so long abused; so it may be of great use to us, and our posterity, not to trust the safety of their country in the hands of those who act by such principles, and from such motives.

I have already observed, that when the counsels of this war were debated in the late king's time, a certain great man was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his employment, and tell the king he could serve him no longer. Upon that prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this lord thought fit

fit to alter his sentiments; for the scene was quite changed; his lordship, and the family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an alliance, were in the highest credit possible with the queen. The treasurer's staff was ready for his lordship; the duke was to command the army; and the duchess, by her employments, and the favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest her majesty's person; by which, the whole power at home and abroad would be devolved upon that family. This was a prospect so very inviting, that to confess the truth, it could not be easily withstood by any, who have so keen an appetite for wealth or power. By an agreement subsequent to the grand alliance, we were to assist the Dutch with forty thousand men, all to be commanded by the duke of Marlborough. So that whether this war was prudently begun or not, it is plain that the true spring or motive of it was, the aggrandizing of a particular family; and in short a war of the general and the ministry, and not of the prince or people; since those very persons were against it, when they knew the power, and consequently the profit, would be in other hands.

With these measures fell in all that set of people, who are called the monied men; such as had raised vast sums by trading with stocks and funds, and lending upon great interest and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war, and whose beneficial way of traffick must very much decline by a peace.

In that whole chain of encroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced; and under those several gross impositions from

from other princes; if any one should ask, why our general continued so easy to the last? I know no other way so probable, or indeed so charitable to account for it, as by that unmeasurable love of wealth, which his best friends allow to be his predominant passion. However I shall wave any thing that is personal upon this subject. I shall say nothing of those great presents made by several princes, which the soldiers used to call winter foraging, and said it was better than that of the summer; of two and a half per cent. subtracted out of all the subsidies we pay in those parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable sum; and lastly, of the grand perquisites in a long successful war, which are so amicably adjusted between him and the States.

But when the war was thus begun, there soon fell in other incidents here at home, which made the continuance of it necessary for those, who were the chief advisers. The whigs were at that time out of all credit or consideration. The reigning favourites had always carried what were called the tory principles, at least as high as our constitution could bear; and most others in great employments were wholly in the church interest. These last, among whom were several persons of the greatest merit, quality, and consequence, were not able to endure the many instances of pride, insolence, avarice, and ambition, which those favourites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be sole dispensers of the royal favour. However, their opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a power, and were soon crushed under it. For, those in possession,

session, finding they could never be quiet in their usurpations, while others had any credit, who were at least upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the discarded whigs, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this solemn league and covenant, which has ever since been cultivated with so much application. The great traders in money were wholly devoted to the whigs, who had first raised them. The army, the court, and the treasury, continued under the old despotick administration: the whigs were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed interest, and worry the church. Mean time, our allies, who were not ignorant that all this artificial structure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, resolved to make the best use of it as long as it should last. And the general's credit being raised to a great height at home, by our success in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impositions; lessening their quotas, breaking their stipulations, garrisoning the towns we took for them, without supplying their troops; with many other infringements: all which were we forced to submit to, because the general was made easy; because the monied men at home were fond of the war; because the whigs were not yet firmly settled; and because that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons, would go off in a peace. It is needless to add, that the emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the Dutch, and succeeded as well, for the same reasons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war

to

to the mutual indulgence between our general and allies, wherein they both so well found their accounts; to the fears of the moneychangers, lest their tables should be overthrown; to the designs of the whigs, who apprehended the loss of their credit and employments in a peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate engrossments of power and favour by no other tenure, than their own presumption upon the necessity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what unanimity and concert these several parties acted toward that great end.

When the vote passed in the house of lords against any peace without Spain being restored * to the Austrian family, the earl of Wharton told the house, that it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover Spain; but however, there were certain reasons why such a vote should be made at that time; which reasons wanted no explanation; for, the general and the ministry having refused to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of Ramillies, were forced to take in a set of men with a previous bargain to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage. And accordingly, upon the first succeeding opportunity that fell, which was that of the prince of Denmark's † death, the chief leaders of the party were brought into several great employments.

Thus, when the queen was no longer able to bear

* It should be—'without Spain's being restored,' &c.—or, 'without the restoration of Spain to the Austrian family.' S.

† Prince George of Denmark, husband to queen Anne. H.

bear the tyranny and insolence of those ungrateful servants, who, as they waxed the fatter, did but kick the more; our two great allies abroad, and our stock-jobbers at home, took immediate alarm; applied the nearest way to the throne, by memorials and messages jointly directing her majesty not to change her secretary or treasurer; who, for the true reasons that these officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least degree of trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the interest of their native country, to those princes, who, in their turns, were to do what they could to support them in power at home.

Thus it plainly appears that there was a conspiracy on all sides to go on with those measures, which must perpetuate the war; and a conspiracy founded upon the interest and ambition of each party; which begat so firm a union, that, instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmness of her majesty, in all the steps of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very shining part in her story; nor is her judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only persons, who had skill, credit, and resolution enough, to be her instruments in overthrowing so many difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the merit of this, by telling us that the rudeness, the tyranny, the oppression, the ingratitude of the late favourites toward their mistress, were no longer to be born.

They

They produce instances to show her majesty was pursued through all her retreats, particularly at Windsor; where, after the enemy had possessed themselves of every inch of ground, they at last attacked and stormed the castle, forcing the queen to fly to an adjoining cottage, pursuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us, "It is better to live on the house-top, than with a scolding woman in a large house." They would have it, that such continued ill usage was enough to inflame the meekest spirit. They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the queen should be at the end of her patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For, nothing is so apt to break even the bravest spirits, as a continual chain of oppressions; one injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third. By these steps, the old masters of the palace in France became masters of that kingdom*; and by these steps, a general during pleasure might have grown into a general for life, and a general for life into a king. So that I still insist upon it as a wonder, how her majesty, thus besieged on all sides, was able to extricate herself.

Having thus mentioned the real causes, although disguised under specious pretences, which have so long continued the war, I must beg leave to reason a little with those persons, who are against any peace but what they call a good one; and explain themselves, that no peace can be good,

* See the Tale of a Tub. H.

without

without an entire restoration of Spain to the house of Austria. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this part of the subject, will have little influence on those, whose particular ends or designs of any sort lead them to wish the continuance of the war: I mean the general, and our allies abroad, the knot of late favourites at home, the body of such as traffick in stocks, and lastly, that set of factious politicians, who were so violently bent, at least upon clipping our constitution in church and state. Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of those, but to all others indifferently, whether whigs or tories, whose private interest is best answered by the welfare of their country. And if among these there be any who think we ought to fight on till king Charles be quietly settled in the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are several points which they have not thoroughly considered.

For, first, it is to be observed, that this resolution against any peace without Spain, is a new incident, grafted upon the original quarrel by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the sanction of a vote in both houses of parliament, to justify those whose interest lay in perpetuating the war. And as this proceeding was against the practice of all princes and states, whose intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common prudence, as well as justice, I might add that it was impious too, by presuming to control events which are only in the hands of God. Ours, and the States complaint against France and Spain, are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretensions specified

cified in the eighth article of the grand alliance; but there is not in any of these the least mention of demanding Spain for the house of Austria, or of refusing any peace without that condition. Having already made an extract from both declarations of war, I shall here give a translation of the eighth article in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of dispute.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

WHEN the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly and in concert with the other. Nor is peace to be made without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his Cæsarean majesty, and for his royal majesty of Great Britain, and a particular security to the lords of the States-general of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce: and a sufficient provision that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the same person, or that the same man may never be king of both kingdoms; and particularly, that the French may never be in possession of the Spanish West Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation, for conveniency of trade, under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges, rights, immunities,

nities, and liberties of commerce, by land and sea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries which the late king of Spain, at the time of his death, was in possession of, as well in Europe as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the subjects of both, or each nation could use and enjoy, by virtue of any right, obtained before the death of the said king of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, custom, or any other way whatsoever.

Here we see the demands intended to be insisted on by the allies upon any treaty of peace, are, a just and reasonable satisfaction for the emperor and king of Great Britain, a security to the States-general for their dominions, &c. and a sufficient provision that France and Spain be never united under the same man, as king of both kingdoms. The rest relates to the liberty of trade and commerce for us and the Dutch; but not a syllable of engaging to dispossess the duke of Anjou.

But to know how this new language, of no peace without Spain, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition treaty which begot the will in favour of the duke of Anjou; for this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a prince supported by a great power, whose interest, as well as affection, engaged them to preserve the monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another family, who must expect assistance from a number of confederates, whose principal members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and

and by a previous treaty parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

Thus the duke of Anjou got into the full possession of all the kingdoms and states belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world as the new. And whatever the house of Austria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the duke's side.

However, a war was resolved on; and, in order to carry it on with great vigour, a grand alliance formed, wherein the ends proposed to be obtained are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the course of this war, to bless the arms of the allies with remarkable successes; by which we were soon put into a condition of demanding and expecting such terms of a peace, as we proposed to ourselves when we began the war. But instead of this, our victories only served to lead us on to farther visionary prospects; advantage was taken of the sanguine temper which so many successes had wrought the nation up to; new romantick views were proposed, and the old, reasonable, sober design was forgot.

This was the artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the public became poorer; and who, after the resolutions which the two houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with safety to themselves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general excise was established, and the dixième denier raised by collectors in red coats. And this was just the circumstance,

circumstance, which it suited their interests to be in.

The house of Austria approved this scheme with reason; since, whatever would be obtained by the blood and treasure of others, was to accrue to that family, while they only lent their name to the cause.

The Dutch might perhaps have grown resty under their burden; but care was likewise taken of that, by a barrier-treaty made with the States, which deserves such epithets as I care not to bestow; but may perhaps consider it, at a proper occasion, in a discourse by itself *.

By this treaty, the condition of the war with respect to the Dutch was widely altered; they fought no longer for security, but for grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them safe, must beggar ourselves to make them formidable.

Will any one contend, that if, at the treaty of Gertruydenburg, we could have been satisfied with such terms of a peace, as we proposed to ourselves by the grand alliance, the French would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on when the war began; and they had reason to grant, as well as we to demand them, since conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But surely there is some measure to be observed in this; those who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of Gertruydenburg, dwell very much upon their zeal and patience in endeavouring to

* Which Discourse is also in this volume. N.

work the French up to their demands; but say nothing to justify those demands, or the probability that France would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were so extravagant, that in all human probability we could not have obtained them by a successful war of forty years. One of them was inconsistent with common reason; wherein the confederates reserved to themselves full liberty of demanding what farther conditions they should think fit; and in the mean time France was to deliver up several of their strongest towns in a month. These articles were very gravely signed by our plenipotentiaries, and those of Holland; but not by the French, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the secretary of the embassy; and the ministers here prevailed on the queen to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had signed. This was an absurdity in form as well as in reason; because the usual form of a ratification is with a preamble, showing, that whereas our ministers, and those of the allies, and of the enemy, have signed, &c. we ratify, &c. The person * who brought over the articles said in all companies (and perhaps believed) that it was a pity we had not demanded more; for the French were in a disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the same concern; and particularly that we had not obtained some farther security for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

* Horatio Walpole, secretary to that embassy. H.

What

What could be the design of all this grimace, but to amuse the people, and to raise stocks for their friends in the secret to sell to advantage? I have too great a respect for the abilities of those who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other issue from it, than what we found by the event. Give me leave to suppose the continuance of the war was the thing at heart among those in power, both abroad and at home; and then I can easily show the consistency of their proceedings, otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those who insisted on such wild demands ever intend a peace? did they really think, that going on with the war was more eligible for their country than the least abatement of those conditions? was the smallest of them worth six millions a year, and a hundred thousand men's lives? was there no way to provide for the safety of Britain, or the security of its trade, but by the French king turning his arms to beat his grandson out of Spain? If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning*, as well as continuance; why did they so neglect it in those very preliminaries, where the enemy made so many concessions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us, was to be left to a ge-

* This sentence is badly arranged, and may be thus amended —'If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the beginning, as well as continuance of the war, why did they,' &c. S.

neral treaty; no tariff agreed on with France or the Low-countries, only the Schelde was to remain shut, which must have ruined our commerce with Antwerp. Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the house of Austria, and we had already made a treaty with king Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince, for settling our commerce with Spain: but, whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of barrier, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain, are to be in common with Holland.

Another point, which I doubt those have not considered who are against any peace without Spain, is, that the face of affairs in Christendom, since the emperor's death, has been very much changed. By this accident, the views and interests of several princes and states in the alliance have taken a new turn, and I believe it will be found that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already, by changing our measures with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the same posture; and it will be too much in conscience to blunder again, by not changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a prince of the Austrian family on the throne of Spain, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the house of Bourbon: but to have the empire and Spanish monarchy united in the same person, is a dreadful consideration, and directly

rectly opposite to that wise principle on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent character of the Austrian princes, the wretched economy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote distances of their several territories from each other, would never suffer an emperor, although at the same time king of Spain, to become formidable: on the contrary, that his dependence must continually be on Great Britain; and the advantages of trade, by a peace founded upon that condition, would soon make us amends for all the expenses of the war.

In answer to this, let us consider the circumstances we must be in, before such a peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become not only poor for the present, but reduced by farther mortgages to a state of beggary for endless years to come. Compare such a weak condition as this, with so great an accession of strength to Austria; and then determine how much an emperor, in such a state of affairs, would either fear or need Britain.

Consider that the comparison is not formed between a prince of the house of Austria, emperor and king of Spain, and with a prince of the Bourbon family, king of France and Spain; but between a prince of the latter, only king of Spain, and one of the former, uniting both crowns in his own person.

What returns of gratitude can we expect when we are no longer wanted? Has all that we have hitherto done for the imperial family been taken

as a favour, only received as the due of the *augustissima casa?*

Will the house of Austria yield the least acre of land, the least article of strained, and even usurped prerogative, to resettle the minds of those princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the consequences of this turn of affairs, occasioned by the emperor's death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine that those princes who dread the overgrown power of the Austrian, as much as that of the Bourbon family, will continue in our alliance, upon a system contrary to that which they engage with us upon? For instance: what can the duke of Savoy expect in such a case? Will he have any choice left him, but that of being a slave and a frontier to France; or a vassal, in the utmost extent of the word, to the imperial court? Will he not therefore, of the two evils, choose the least; by submitting to a master who has no immediate claim upon him, and to whose family he is nearly allied; rather than to another, who has already revived several claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the Dutch more inclined than the rest of Europe, that the empire and Spain should be united in king Charles, whatever they may now pretend. On the contrary, it is known to several persons, that upon the death of the late emperor Joseph, the States resolved that those two powers should not be joined in the same person; and this they determined as a fundamental maxim by which they intended to proceed. So that Spain was first given up by them; and since they maintain no troops

troops in that kingdom, it should seem that they understand the duke of Anjou to be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, those who are against any peace without Spain, if they be such as no way find their private account by the war, may perhaps change their sentiments, if they will reflect a little upon our present condition.

I had two reasons for not sooner publishing this discourse; the first was, because I would give way to others, who might argue very well upon the same subject from general topicks and reason, although they might be ignorant of several facts, which I had the opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary, in the course of this argument, to say something of the state to which the war has reduced us; at the same time I knew, that such a discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and at another juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many to mistake the echo of a London coffeehouse, for the voice of the kingdom. The city coffeehouses have been for some years filled with people, whose fortunes depend upon the Bank, East India, or some other stock. Every new fund to these, is like a new mortgage to a usurer, whose compassion for a young heir, is exactly the same with that of a stockjobber to the landed gentry. At the court end of the town, the like places of resort are frequented either by men out of place, and consequently enemies to the present ministry, or by officers

officers of the army: no wonder then if the general cry, in all such meetings, be against any peace, either with Spain or without; which, in other words, is no more than this; that discontented men desire another change of ministry; that soldiers would be glad to keep their commissions; and that the creditors have money still, and would have the debtors borrow on at the old extorting rate, while they have any security to give.

Now to give the most ignorant reader some idea of our present circumstances, without troubling him or myself with computations in form; every body knows that our land and malt tax amount annually to about two millions and a half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged to pay interest for what we have already borrowed. The yearly charge of the war is usually about six millions; to make up which sum, we are forced to take up, on the credit of new funds, about three millions and a half. This last year, the computed charge of the war came to above a million more than all the funds the parliament could contrive were sufficient to pay interest for; and so we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thousand pounds, among the several branches of our expense. This is a demonstration that if the war be to last another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the malt tax, or by some other method equally desperate.

If the peace be made this winter, we are then to consider what circumstances we shall be in toward paying a debt of about fifty millions, which

is a fourth part of the purchase of the whole island if it were to be sold.

Towards clearing ourselves of this monstrous incumbrance, some of these annuities will expire, or pay off the principal in thirty, forty, or a hundred years: the bulk of the debt must be lessened gradually by the best management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt taxes, after paying guards and garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not skill enough to compare what will be left, after these necessary charges, toward annually clearing so vast a debt: but believe it must be very little; however, it is plain that both these taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the government, as because we have no other means for paying off the principal. And so likewise must all the other funds remain for paying the interest. How long a time this must require, how steady an administration, and how undisturbed a state of affairs both at home and abroad, let others determine.

However, some people think all this very reasonable; and that since the struggle has been for peace and safety, posterity, which is to partake of the benefit, ought to share in the expense: as if at the breaking out of this war, there had been such a conjuncture of affairs, as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful that our ancestors, in all their wars, should never fall under such a necessity; that we meet no examples of it in Greece and Rome; that no other nation in Europe ever knew any

any thing like it, except Spain about a hundred and twenty years ago, when they drew it upon themselves by their own folly, and have suffered for it ever since; no doubt we shall teach posterity wisdom, but they will be apt to think the purchase too dear, and I wish they may stand to the bargain we have made in their names.

It is easy to entail debts on succeeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them; but how to ensure peace for any term of years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever cease to have the same passions; princes to entertain designs of interest or ambition; and occasions of quarrel to arise? May not we ourselves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a necessity of recovering towns, out of the very hands of those, for whom we are now ruining our country to take them? Neither can it be said, that those states, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourselves; for, by the circumstances of our situation, and the impositions of our allies, we are more exhausted than either they or the enemy; and by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the opposition of factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will no doubt be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they see a few rags hung up in Westminster-hall, which cost a hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boast, as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken notion of credit,

credit, so boasted of by the advocates of the late ministry: was not all that credit built upon funds raised by the landed men, whom they now so much hate and despise? is not the greatest part of those funds raised from the growth and product of land? must not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garrisons be maintained, by the land and malt tax after a peace? If they call it credit to run ten millions in debt without parliamentary security, by which the publick is defrauded of almost half; I must think such credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither has any thing gone farther to ruin the nation than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen. It seemed as if the young extravagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look into his estate before things grew desperate, which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money, as they used to do.

Since the monied men are so fond of war, I should be glad they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge: it is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men*, they will have their full principal and interest at six per cent. remaining, of all the money they ever lent to the government.

*Here the adjective is improperly used instead of the adverb; it should be—'instead of contributing equally with the landed men,' &c. S.

Without

Without this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the war upon the same foot. I have already observed, that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, although the persons most conversant in ways and means employed their utmost invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next campaign. But perhaps our allies will make up this deficiency on our side, by great efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the emperor and Holland failed this year in several articles; and signified to us some time ago that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless war, for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance, nor consent. So that, since we have done their business, since they have no farther service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them; and lastly, since we neither desire any recompense, nor expect any thanks, we ought in pity to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them: and so are we to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardships upon us. The first overtures from France are made to England upon safe and honourable terms; we who bore the burden of the war, ought

ought in reason to have the greatest share in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace, others certainly will, and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into separate measures of a peace; and by the strength of that argument, as well as by other powerful motives, prevailed on those who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to the war, which every year brought them such great accessions to their wealth and power*. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow; and then we must be content with such conditions, as our allies, out of their great concern for our safety and interest, will please to choose. They have no farther occasion for fighting, they have gained their point, and they now tell us it is our war; so that, in common justice, it ought to be our peace.

All we can propose by the desperate steps of pawning our land or malt tax, or erecting a general excise, is only to raise a fund of interest for running us annually four millions farther in debt, without any prospect of ending the war so well as we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our incumbrances must of necessity remain perpetual.

* Brought them, is only a shorter mode of expression for brought to them: let us read the sentence so, and its impropriety will be apparent,—'Which every year brought to them such great accessions to their wealth and power. It should be either—'which every year brought such accession to their wealth and power'—or, 'which every year brought them such accession of wealth and power.' S.

We

We have hitherto lived upon expedients, which, in time, will certainly destroy any constitution, whether civil or natural: and there was no country in christendom had less occasion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a consumption, by plying it with physick instead of food. Art will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the remains of nature work, we must inevitably die.

What arts have been used to possess the people with a strong delusion, that Britain must infallibly be ruined, without the recovery of Spain to the house of Austria! making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an event, which, after a war of miraculous successes, proves impracticable. As if princes and great ministers could find no way of settling the publick tranquillity, without changing the possessions of kingdoms, and forcing sovereigns upon a people against their inclinations. Is there no security for the island of Britain, unless a king of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and seaports to give us for securing trade? Can he not deliver us possession of such places as would put him in a worse condition, whenever he should perfidiously renew the war? The present king of France has but few years to live by the course of nature, and doubtless would desire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers in private families, are not observed to have great influence on their grandsons; and I believe they have much less among princes: however, when the authority

of

of a parent is gone, is it likely that Philip will be directed by a brother, against his own interest, and that of his subjects? Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must operate in the times of peace? These, at least, are probabilities, and cheaper by six millions a year than recovering Spain, or continuing the war, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common question is, if we must now surrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The answer is ready: we have been fighting for the ruin of the public interest and the advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raise the wealth and grandeur of a particular family; to enrich usurers and stock-jobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a faction, by destroying the landed interest. The nation begins now to think these blessings are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a peace.

But the advocates on the other side cry out, that we might have had a better peace, than is now in agitation, above two years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that by parity of reason we must expect one just so much the worse about two years hence. If those in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt that they did it not. Why did they insist upon conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow, it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with, as answerable to God, their country, and posterity;

that

that the bleeding condition of their fellow-subjects, was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, it is pleasant to hear some men answer all that can be said, by crying up the power of England, the courage of England, the inexhaustible riches of England. I have heard a man* very sanguine upon this subject, with a good employment for life, and a hundred thousand pounds in the funds, bidding us take courage, and warranting, that all would go well. This is the style of men at ease, who lay heavy burdens upon others, which they would not touch with one of their fingers. I have known such people such ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in stocks and annuities are so much real wealth in the nation; whereas every farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men, who now pay the interest, must at last pay the principal.

Fourthly, those who are against any peace without Spain, have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low condition of France, and the mighty consequences of our successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that after the battle of Ramillies, the French were so discouraged with their frequent losses, and so impatient for a peace, that their king was resolved to comply upon any reasonable terms. But, when his subjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to as-

* Lord Halifax. H.

sist

sist him in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his authority; and the supplies he has received from the Spanish West Indies, which in all are computed since the war to amount to four hundred millions of livres, and all in specie, have enabled him to pay his troops. Besides, the money is spent in his own country; and he has since waged war in the most thrifty manner, by acting on the defensive: compounding with us every campaign for a town, which costs us fifty times more than it is worth, either as to the value or the consequences. Then he is at no charge for a fleet, farther than providing privateers, wherewith his subjects carry on a piratical war at their own expense, and he sharesi n the profit; which has been very considerable to France, and of infinite disadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual losses we have suffered, to an immense value, but by the general discouragement of trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the circumstances of that government, where the prince is master of the lives and fortunes of so mighty a kingdom, shows that monarch not to be so sunk in his affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the hopes of*.

Those who are against any peace without Spain, seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our victories and other successes, to have been of greater consequence than they really were.

* Here is another instance of a sentence finished by a preposition; it would he better arranged thus—'and with the hopes of which we have so long flattered ourselves.' S.

When our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into possession, and we at home make bonfires. I have sometimes pitied the deluded people, to see them squandering away their fuel to so little purpose. For example: what is it to us that Bouchain is taken, about which the warlike politicians of the coffee-house make such a clutter? What though the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and in sight of the enemy? we are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour. What advantage have we, but that of spending three or four millions more to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for contributions, and increase the perquisites of the general?

In that war of ten years under the late king, when our commanders and soldiers were raw and unexperienced, in comparison of what they are at present, we lost battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those gentlemen have better learnt their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now: nor was there any thing decisive in their successes; they grew weary as well as we, and at last consented to a peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise treaty of partition, which revived the flame that has lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making war, but that the side which can hold out longest will end it with most advantage. In such a close country as Flanders, where it is carried on by sieges, the army that acts offensively is at a much greater expense of men and money;

money; and there is hardly a town taken, in the common forms, where the besiegers have not the worse of the bargain. I never yet knew a soldier, who would not affirm, that any town may be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much blood and treasure, the rest is all a regular, established method, which cannot fail. When the king of France, in the times of his grandeur, sat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day when it should surrender: the enemy, sensible of all this, has for some years past avoided a battle*, where he has so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us, by letting our courage evaporate against stones and rubbish, and sacrificing a single town to a campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose, than we to take.

Lastly, those who are so violently against any peace without Spain's being restored to the house of Austria, have not I believe cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads.

The northern war has been on foot almost ever since our breach with France. The success of it is various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or later it would involve us in its consequences; and that whenever

* This expression admits of ambiguity; a battle seems to point to some particular engagement, instead of battle in general; the article therefore should be left out, and it should be written 'avoided battle.' S.

this happened, let our success be never so great* against France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

By our guarantee of the treaty of Travendall, we were obliged to hinder the king of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time understood by all parties, and so declared even by the British ministers, that this engagement specially regarded Denmark's not assisting king Augustus. But however, if this had not been so, yet our obligation to Sweden stood in force by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one concluded at the Hague by sir Joseph Williamson and monsieur Lilienroot, about the latter end of the king's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded; and our not assisting Sweden was at least as well excused by the war which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excused by the pressures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war the king of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then exposed to? What fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony; and, if he had really been in the French interest, might at once have put us under the greatest difficulties. But the torrent turned another way, and he contented himself with imposing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Rastadt; by which,

* It should be, for reasons before assigned—'let our success be ever so great.' S.

king

king Augustus makes an absolute cession of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Stanislaus; and then both he, and the king of Sweden, join in desiring the guarantee of England and Holland. The queen did not indeed give this guarantee in form; but, as a step toward it, the title of king was given to Stanislaus by a letter from her majesty; and the strongest assurances were given to the Swedish minister, in her majesty's name, and in a committee of council, that the guarantee should speedily be granted; and that in the mean while it was the same thing as if the forms were passed.

In 1708, king Augustus made the campaign in Flanders: what measures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be that he made use of, is not known: but immediately after, he breaks through all he had done, marches into Poland, and reassumes the crown.

After this we apprehended that the peace of the empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an act of guarantee for the neutrality of it. The king of Sweden refused, upon several accounts, to submit to the terms of this treaty, particularly because we went out of the empire to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

Let us therefore consider what is our case at present. If the king of Sweden return, and get the better, he will think himself under no obligation of having any regard to the interests of the allies; but will naturally pursue, according to his own expression, his enemy wherever he finds him. In this case, the corps of the neutrality is

obliged

obliged to oppose him; and so we are engaged in a second war, before the first is ended.

If the northern confederates succeed against Sweden, how shall we be able to preserve the balance of power in the north, so essential to our trade as well as in many other respects? what will become of that great support of the protestant interest in Germany, which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? or who shall answer, that these princes, after they have settled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look southward, and make our peace with France according to their own schemes?

And lastly, if the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and other princes whose dominions lie contiguous, are forced to draw from those armies which act against France, we must live in hourly expectation of having those troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this recall may happen in the midst of a siege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our interest to toil on in a ruinous war, for an impracticable end, till one of these cases shall happen, or get under shelter before the storm?

There is no doubt but the present ministry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conscience) might find their advantage in advising the continuance of the war, as well as the last did, although not in the same degree, after the kingdom has been so much exhausted. They might prolong it, till the parliament desire a peace; and in the mean time leave them in full possession of power. Therefore it is plain, that their proceedings at present are meant to serve

their

their country, directly against their private interest; whatever clamour may be raised by those, who, for the vilest ends, would move Heaven and earth to oppose their measures. But they think it infinitely better to accept such terms as will secure our trade, find a sufficient barrier for the States, give reasonable satisfaction to the emperor, and restore the tranquillity of Europe, although without adding Spain to the empire; rather than go on in a languishing way, upon the vain expectation of some improbable turn for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family; and at last, be forced to a worse peace, by some of the allies falling off, upon our utter inability to continue the war.

P. S. I have in this edition explained three or four lines, which mention the succession, to take off, if possible, all manner of cavil; though, at the same time, I cannot but observe, how ready the adverse party is to make use of any objections, even such as destroy their own principles. I put a distant case of the possibility, that our succession, through extreme necessity, might be changed by the legislature in future ages; and it is pleasant to hear those people quarrelling at this, who profess themselves for changing it as often as they please, and that even without the consent of the entire legislature.

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES*.

"Nihil est aliud in fœdere, nisi ut pia et æterna pax sit."
CICERO, pro C. Balbo.

Jan. 16. 1712-13.

I BEGIN to think, that though perhaps there may be several very exact maps of Great Britain to be had at the shops in Amsterdam or The Hague; and some shining genii in that country can, it may be, look out the most remarkable places in our island, especially those upon the seacoast or near it, as Portsmouth, Chatham, Torbay, and the like; yet it is highly necessary, that "Chamberlaine's Present State," or some other good book of that sort, were carefully translated into Dutch, *in usum illustrissimorum ordinum*, or with any other sounding and pompous title, only signifying, that it was done for the use of our good allies, and to set them right in the nature of our government, constitution, and laws;

* "I gave the Examiner a hint about this prorogation; and to praise the queen for her tenderness to the Dutch, in giving them still more time to submit. It suited the occasion at present." Journal to Stella, Jan. 15, 1712-13. N.

with

with which they do not appear to be so well acquainted as might be expected. I am sensible that as things now stand, if a manifesto or memorial should be sent them, humbly representing to their high mightinesses, that Great Britain is an independent monarchy, governed by its own laws: that the queen is supreme over all orders of the realm: that no other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, has, or ought to have, any authority and jurisdiction over us: that where the queen, lords, and commons, solemnly consent it is a law; and where the collective body of the people agree, it is the sense of the nation: that the making war and peace is the prerogative of the crown; and that all alliances are to be observed only so far as they answer the ends for which they were made: in such a case, it is not unlikely but the Amsterdam Gazette, or some other paper in the Seven Provinces, would immediately answer all this, by publickly protesting, that it came from the jacobites and frenchified highfliers, and therefore ought not to be admitted as genuine: for of late, that celebrated writer, and two or three of his seconds, have undertaken to tell us poor Britons, who are our best subjects, and how we ought to behave ourselves toward our allies. So that, in this unhappy juncture, I do not see when we shall come to a right understanding. On the other hand, suppose we agreed to give them the precedence, and left the first proposal for overtures of accommodation to their management; this perhaps might quickly bring us to be better acquainted. Let them therefore lay aside all clumsy pretences to address; tell us no more of former battles, sieges, and glo-

ries;

ries; nor make love to us in prose, and extol our beauty, our fortune, and their own passion for us, to the stars: but let them come roundly to the business, and in plain terms give us to understand, that they will not recognize any other government in Great Britain, but whiggarchy only: that they treated with us as such, and are not obliged to acknowledge a usurped power, called a monarchy, to which they are utter strangers: that they have a just demand upon us ever since the Revolution; which is a precedent for their interposing, whenever popery and arbitrary power are coming in upon us, which at present they are informed by their friends is our case: and besides, they are advised by able counsel, that we are only tenants for life; and they, being mentioned in the entail, are obliged to have a watchful eye over us, and to see that neither waste nor dilapidation be done upon the premises. If all this be not the case, and a true state of the controversy, as I heartily hope it is not, I leave any rational creature, pick him where you will between the Danube and Ganges, to judge of the following remonstrance.

A war is undertaken by several potentates in conjunction, upon certain causes and conditions, plainly expressed in a writing called "The Grand Alliance." This war is carried on with success; the enemy offers to treat, and proposes to satisfy all the just demands of the several parties engaged against them. Great Britain makes her claim, so does Portugal; and both are fully satisfied. The Dutch produce their barrier of Gertruydenburg; and are assured they shall have it, except two or three places at most. Savoy and Prussia have

more

more than ever they asked. Only the emperor will have all Spain, contrary to the reasons upon which his brother's renunciation was founded, and in direct violation of a fundamental maxim, "The balance of power:" so that he would involve us in a second war, and a new "Grand Alliance," under pretence of observing the old one. This, in short, is the case; and yet, after all the bloodshed, expense, and labour, to compass these great ends, though her Britannick Majesty finds by experience that every potentate in the Grand Alliance, except herself, has actually broke it every year; though she stands possessed of an undoubted right to make peace and war; though she has procured for her allies all that she was obliged to by treaty; though her two houses of parliament humbly entreat her to finish the great work; though her people with one voice admire and congratulate the wise steps she has taken, and cry aloud to her to defer their happiness no longer; though some of the allies, and one or two of the provinces, have declared for peace, and her majesty's domestick enemies dread it as the utter downfal of their faction; yet still the blessing depends, and expectation is our lot. The menacing pensionary has scruples: he desires time to look out for something to demand: there are a dozen or two of petty princes, who want silk stockings, and lace round their hats: we must stay till the second part of Denain comes upon the stage, and squire South promises to go directly to Madrid, the next time we shew him the way thither.

Her majesty is all goodness and tenderness to her people and her allies. A brighter example of piety

piety could not adorn the life of her royal grandfather, whose solemn anniversary we must shortly celebrate. She has now prorogued the best parliament that ever assembled in her reign; and respited her own glory, and the wishes, prayers, and wants of her people, only to give some of her allies an opportunity to think of the returns they owe her, and try if there be such things as gratitude, justice, or humanity, in Europe. This conduct of her majesty is without parallel. Never was so great a condescension made to the unreasonable clamours of an insolent faction, now dwindled to the most contemptible circumstances. It is certainly high time they should begin to meditate other measures, unless they vainly imagine the government must part with both its attributes of mercy and justice, till they are pleased to be dutiful and obedient. What ill-grounded hopes and expectations they have underhand administered to any of the allies, is not worth my while to inquire; since, whatever they are, they must come attended with the blackest treason and ingratitude. The Dutch have the least reason in the world to rely on such a broken reed; and after having solemnly promised to conform themselves to her majesty's wisdom, and depend on her conduct, which is the language of their latest professions, such clandestine management would fully deserve all those appellations, with which the writings of the whigs are so richly embellished.

After all, when her majesty and her subjects have waited one period more, and affixed a new date to their wishes and patience; since peace is the only end of every alliance, and since all that

we

we fought for is yielded up by the enemy, in justice to her prerogative, to her parliament, and her people, the desirable blessing will, no doubt, be reached out to us: our happiness will not be put off till they who have ill-will at us can find time and power to prevent it. All that a stubborn ally can then expect, is, time to come in, and accept those terms which himself once thought reasonable. The present age will soon taste the sweets of such conduct; and posterity as highly applaud it. Only they who now rail and calumniate, will do so still, and who are disposed to give every thing the same treatment which makes for our safety and welfare, and spoils their game of disorder and confusion.

It is true, the present stagnation of affairs is accounted for another way; and the party give out, that France begins to draw back, and would explain several articles upon us: but the authors of this forgery know very well I do not miscal it; and are conscious to the criminal reasons why it is with so much industry bandied about. France rather enlarges her offers, than abates or recedes from them: so happy are we in finding our most inveterate and ungenerous enemies within our own bowels! The whigs, according to custom, may chuckle and solace themselves with the visionary hopes of coming mischief; and imagine they are grown formidable, because they are to be humoured in their extravagances, and to be paid for their perverseness. Let them go on to glory in their projected schemes of government, and the blessed effects they have produced in the world. It was not enough for them to make

obedience

obedience the duty of the sovereign, but this obedience must at length be made passive; and that nonresistance may not wholly vanish from among the virtues, since the subject is weary of it, they would fairly make it over to their monarch. The compact between prince and people is supposed to be mutual; but Grand Alliances are, it seems, of another nature: a failure in one party does not disengage the rest; they are tied up and entangled so long as any one confederate adheres to the negative; and we are not allowed to make use of the Polish argument, and plead *Non loquitor.* But these artifices are too thin to hold: they are the cobwebs which the faction have spun out of the last dregs of their poison, made to be swept away with the unnecessary animals who contrived them. Their tyranny is at an end; and their ruin very near: I can only advise them to become their fall, like Cæsar, and "die with decency."

SOME REMARKS

ON THE

BARRIER TREATY

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY

AND THE

STATES-GENERAL.

To which are added,

The said Barrier Treaty, with the two separate Articles; Part of the Counter-project; the Sentiments of Prince EUGENE and Count ZINZENDORF upon the said Treaty; and a Representation of the English Merchants at Bruges.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1712.

PREFACE.

WHEN I published the discourse called, The Conduct of the Allies, I had thoughts either of inserting, or annexing the Barrier Treaty at length, with such observations as I conceived might be useful for publick information: but that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that famous treaty, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the design of my book. I have since heard, that my readers in general seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made publick, especially since it has been laid before the house of commons.

That I may give some light to the reader who is not well versed in those affairs, he may please to know, that a project for a treaty of barrier with the States was transmitted hither from Holland; but being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project or scheme of a treaty was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This last was called the counter-project; and was the measure, whereby the duke of Marlborough and my lord Townsend were commanded and instructed to proceed in negotiating a treaty of barrier with the States.

I have added a translation of this counter-project in those articles where it differs from the barrier treaty, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of prince Eugene of Savoy, and the count de Zinzendorf, relating to this treaty, written (I suppose) while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the British merchants at Bruges, signifying what inconveniences they already felt, and farther apprehended from this barrier treaty.

SOME REMARKS

ON THE

BARRIER TREATY, &c.

IMAGINE a reasonable person in China reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography; he would conceive their high mightinesses the States-general to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome; and her majesty, to be a petty prince, like one of those to whom that republick would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well, otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in their stead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our prince and us into their protection; and in return, honoured us so far as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in their conquests, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of barbarians, upon some of their outlying provinces. But how must it sound in an European ear, that Great Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expense; after saving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should toward the close of a war enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces, to secure to them

them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept, as an equivalent, the mean condition of those States assisting to preserve her queen on the throne, whom, by God's assistance, she is able to defend against all her majesty's enemies and allies put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their interest to use very powerful motives with the chief advisers (I say nothing of the person immediately employed); and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The counter-project of this treaty, made here at London, was bad enough in all conscience; I have said something of it in the preface; her majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project, which would have been of consequence to Britiain, and one or two more where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible, that our good allies and friends could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to those whereby so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, surely might have remained; which was of some benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us; and which the French king has lately

lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, although clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But let me now consider the treaty itself: among the one and twenty articles of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty until the queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well that it is, in consequence, the interest of the States, as much as ours, that Britain should be governed by a protestant prince. Besides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues offensive and defensive between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other, against any invader, with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the emperor, Britain, and Holland; which was, or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our succession, to all intents and purposes, as this in the barrier treaty; and the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient, without any separate benefit to either party.

It is, no doubt, for the interest of Britain, that the States should have a sufficient barrier against France; but their high mightinesses, for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word barrier, from what it formerly used to bear, when applied to them. When the late king was prince of Orange, and commanded their armies against France, it was never once imagined, that any of the towns taken should belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch; and Flanders was only a

barrier

barrier to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So in the grand alliance of 1701 the several powers promising to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was understood to be the recovering of those provinces to the king of Spain; but in this treaty, the style is wholly changed: here are about twenty towns and forts of great importance, with their chattellanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible) and the whole revenues of them to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch, by which that republick will be entirely masters of the richest part of all Flanders; and upon any appearance of war, they may put their garrisons into any other place of the Low-countries; and farther, the king of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year, to enable them to maintain those garrisons.

Why should we wonder that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when, by an article in this treaty, the king of Spain is not to possess one single town in the Low-countries, until a peace be made? The duke of Anjou, at the beginning of this war, maintained six and thirty thousand men out of those Spanish provinces he then possessed: to which, if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late king of Spain's possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies; it is visible what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chattellanies of this barrier always maintained their garrisons when they were in

the

the hands of France; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the king's coffers; yet the king of Spain is obliged by this treaty (as we have already observed) to add over and above a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year. We know likewise, that a great part of the revenue of the Spanish Netherlands is already pawned to the States; so that, after a peace, nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labour under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this barrier treaty, will, in effect, be absolute sovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot without some contempt take notice of a sort of reasoning offered by several people, that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, because the whole revenue of those towns are spent in maintaining them. For, first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to Lisle and some others. Secondly, the States, after a peace, are to have four hundred thousand crowns a year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain. And lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury, what can be of greater consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which, before, they always did by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to king Charles III. that while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join

join at the same time with the Dutch to deprive him of his natural right to the Low-countries?

But suppose, by a Dutch barrier, must now be understood only what is to be in possession of the States; yet, even under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant except a barrier against France; whereas several towns demanded by the Dutch in this treaty can be of no use at all in such a barrier. And this is the sentiment even of prince Eugene himself, (the present oracle and idol of the party here) who says, that Dendermond, Ostend, and the castle of Gand, do in no sort belong to the barrier; nor can be of other use than to make the States-general masters of the Low-countries, and hinder their trade with England; and farther, that those who are acquainted with the country, know very well, that to fortify Lier and Halle, can give no security to the States as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the people, that those places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels, and the other great towns of Brabant.

In those towns of Flanders where the Dutch are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the king of Spain after a peace, the States have power to send arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying customs; under which pretence, they will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive of all other nations.

This, prince Eugene likewise foresaw; and in his observations upon this treaty, here annexed, proposed a remedy for it.

And if the Dutch shall please to think that the whole

whole Spanish Netherlands are not a sufficient barrier for them, I know no remedy, from the words of this treaty, but that we must still go on and conquer for them as long as they please. For the queen is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them whatever shall be thought necessary besides; and where their necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of her majesty's subjects conceive, that in the towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their possession as a barrier, either the States should demand, or our ministers allow, that the subjects of Britain should, in respect to their trade, be used worse than they were under the late king of Spain? yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: all goods going to, or coming from Newport or Ostend, are to pay the same duties, as those that pass by the Schelde under the Dutch forts: and this, in effect, is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English merchants at Bruges complain, that after they have paid the king of Spain's duty for goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are made liable to farther duties, when they are carried thence into the towns of the Dutch new conquests; and desire only the same privileges of trade they had before the death of the late king of Spain, Charles II. And in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already taken off eight per cent. from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But what is very surprising, in the very same article, where our good friends and allies are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns

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we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the queen is obliged to procure, that the States shall be used as favourably in their trade over all the king of Spain's dominions, as her own subjects, or as the people most favoured. This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys-play; "Cross I win, and pile * you lose;" or "what's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own." Now if it should happen, that in a treaty of peace some ports or towns should be yielded us for the security of our trade, in any part of the Spanish dominions, at how great a distance soever, I suppose the Dutch would go on with their boys-play, and challenge half by virtue of that article: or would they be content with military government and the revenues, and reckon them among what shall be thought necessary for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced as subsequent to the treaty of Munster, made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmost confusion, and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves, and so prejudicial to our trade, ought, in reason, to have been remitted, rather than confirmed upon us, for the time to come. But this is Dutch partnership; to share in all our beneficial bargains, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of The Conduct of the Allies, among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a question, whether it were right, in point of policy or

* The two sides of our coin were once nominally distinguished by cross and pile, as they are now by heads and tails. H.

prudence,

prudence, to call in a foreign power to be a guarantee to our succession; because by that means we put it out of the power of our legislature to alter the succession, how much soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it? To comply with the cautions of some people, I explained my meaning in the following editions. I was assured, that my lord chief justice affirmed, that passage was treason. One of my answerers, I think, decides as favourably; and I am told that paragraph was read very lately during a debate, with a comment in very injurious terms, which perhaps might have been spared. That the legislature should have power to change the succession, whenever the necessities of the kingdom require, is so very useful toward preserving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be whiggish; but the distinction is thus: the whigs are for changing the succession when they think fit, although the entire legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great necessity, and that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentlemen of revolution principles think it impossible, that we should ever have occasion again to change our succession? and if such an accident should fall out, must we have no remedy until the Seven Provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent party among us were as able, as some are willing, to raise a rebellion for reinstating them in power, and would apply themselves to the Dutch, as guarantees of our succession, to assist them with all their force, under pretence that the

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queen and ministry, a great majority of both houses, and the bulk of the people, were for bringing over France, popery, and the pretender? Their high mightinesses would, as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably decide it so well, that in some time we might have the happiness of becoming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities necessary to a reader, before his judgment should be allowed; these are, common honesty, and common sense; and that no man could have misrepresented that paragraph in my discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

The presumptive successor, and her immediate heirs, have so established a reputation in the world, for their piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind is likely to appear in their days; but I must still insist, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of Great Britain, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution. And we ought to consider, that if in ages to come such a prince should happen to be in succession to our throne, as should be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return: the queen is here put under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier treaty; of the Dutch having possession of the said barrier, and the revenues thereof, before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the king of Spain; that the States shall possess their barrier, even before king Charles

Charles is in possession of the Spanish Netherlands; although by the fifth article of the grand alliance, her majesty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, except in a general treaty.

All kings, princes, and states are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier. Popish princes are here invited, among others, to become guarantees of our protestant succession; every petty prince in Germany must be entreated to preserve the queen of Great Britain upon her throne. The king of Spain is invited particularly, and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles and recover his dominions, strip him in effect of all his ten provinces; a clear reason why they never sent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation, not to enter into a treaty of peace with France, until that entire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary, was struck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, because there they only fought for themselves. King Charles must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand by with great satisfaction, while the Belgick lion divides the prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers, who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table, while they devoured his victuals, without giving him a morsel; and upon his expostulating, had only for answer, "Why, sirrah, are we not come here to protect you?" And thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes to lend their

their assistance, and become guarantees, out of pure good nature, for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryswick no care was taken to oblige the French king to acknowledge the right of succession in her present majesty; for want of which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for queen of Great Britain after the late king's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omission*, and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me, whether it were a wilful omission or not. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of his late majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But when I recollect the behaviour, the language, and the principles of some certain persons in those days, and compare them with that omission; I am tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my way) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who has done me the honour to write three discourses against that treatise of The Conduct of the Allies, &c. and promises, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief

* Article XX.

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(as he calls it) before his first part could possibly come out; and so went on through the kingdom, while his limped slowly after; and if it arrived at all, was too late; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus: of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, other he endeavours to extenuate; and the rest he distorts with such unnatural terms, that I would engage, by the same method, to disprove any history either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not born to: yet, after all, he allows a very great point for which I contend, confessing, in plain words, that the burden of the war has chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it sufficient for the Dutch, that next to England they have born the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains? I am inclined to think that my intelligence was at least as good as his; and some of it, I can assure him, came from persons of his own party, although perhaps not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto therefore the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me as they please. But I think the great point of controversy between us is, whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premises or mine? And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin by a most successful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent,

and loyal ministry, a most faithful, just, and generous, commander, and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere allies. This is the case, as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the duke of ***, who, playing at hazard at the groom-porter's in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but, in the heat of play, never observed a sharper, who came once or twice under his arm, and swept a great deal of it into his hat; the company thought it had been one of his servants. When the duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. "Yes, said he, I held in very long; yet methinks I have won but very little." They told him his servant had got the rest in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It has been my good fortune to see the most important facts that I have advanced, justified by the public voice; which, let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe that I may be right in the rest. And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least mistake. I stopped the second edition, and made all possible inquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any errour I could hear of; I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual answer to all cavils, than a hundred pages of controversy.

But what disgusts me from having any thing to do with the race of answerjobbers, is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings:

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to give one instance in this gentleman's third part, which I have been lately looking into; when I talk of the most petty princes, he says that I mean crowned heads; when I say the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob or starve at home, he says I call kings and crowned heads robbers and highwaymen. This is what the whigs call answering a book.

I cannot omit one particular concerning this author, who is so positive in asserting his own facts, and contradicting mine; he affirms, that the business of Toulon was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then secretary of state. It is neither wise, nor for the credit of his party, to put us in mind of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens that nothing relating to the affair of Toulon did ever pass through that secretary's office: which I here affirm with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villanous, and the rest, to the author and his fellows.

But to leave this author; let us consider the consequence of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value, as to think that nothing less than the crown can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the general. We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land: our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it. We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts, to raise three millions of money for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted.

Let us look upon the reverse of the medal; we shall see our neighbours, who in their utmost distress called for our assistance, become by this treaty, even in time of peace, masters of a more considerable country than their own; in a condition to strike terrour into us, with fifty thousand veterans ready to invade us from that country, which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent hostilities upon us in all other parts, as they have lately done in the East Indies.

THE BARRIER TREATY

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES-GENERAL,

HER majesty the queen of Great Britain and the lords the States-general of the United Provinces, having considered how much it concerns the quiet and security of their kingdoms and states, and the publick tranquillity, to maintain and to secure on one side, the succession to the crown of Great Britain in such manner as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom; and on the other side, that the States-general of the United Provinces should have a strong and sufficient barrier against France and others who would surprise or attack them: and her majesty and the said States-general apprehending with just reason the troubles

troubles and the mischiefs which may happen in relation to this succession, if at any time there should be any person, or any power, who should call it in question; and that the countries and states of the said lords the States-general were not furnished with such a barrier. For these said reasons her said majesty the queen of Great Britain, although in the vigour of her age, and enjoying perfect health (in which may God preserve her many years) out of an effect of her usual prudence and piety, has thought fit to enter with the lords the States-general of the United Provinces into a particular alliance and confederacy; the principal end and only aim of which shall be the publick quiet and tranquillity; and to prevent, by measures taken in time, all the events which might one day excite new wars. It is with this view, that her British majesty has given her full power to agree upon some articles of a treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances that she hath already with the lords the States-general of the United Provinces, to her ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles viscount Townsend, baron of Lynn-Regis, privy counsellor of her British majesty, captain of her said majesty's yeomen of the guard, and her lieutenant in the county of Norfolk; and the lords the States-general of the United Provinces, to the sieurs John de Weldern, lord of Valburg, great bailiff of the Lower Betewe, of the body of the nobility of the province of Guelder; Frederick baron of Reede, lord of Lier, St. Anthony, and T'er Lee, of the order of the nobility of the province of Holland and West Friesland; Anthony Heinsius, counsellor-

counsellor-pensionary of the province of Holland and West Friesland, keeper of the great seal, and superintendant of the fiefs of the same province; Cornelius Van Gheel, lord of Spranbrook, Bulkesteyn, &c.; Gedeon Hoeuft, canon of the chapter of the church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected counsellor in the states of the province of Utrecht; Hassel Van Sminia, secretary of the chamber of the accounts of the province of Friesland; Ernest Ittersum, lord of Osterbof, of the body of the nobility of the province of Overyssel; and Wicher Wichers, senator of the city of Groningen; all deputies to the assembly of the said lords of the States-general on the part respectively of the provinces of Guelder, Holland, West-Friesland, Zeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, and Ommelands, who, by virtue of their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

THE treaties of peace, friendship, alliance and confederacy between her Britannick majesty and the States-general of the United Provinces shall be approved and confirmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in their former force and vigour, as if they were inserted word for word.

ARTICLE II.

The succession to the crown of England having been settled by an act of parliament, passed the twelfth year of the reign of his late majesty king William III. the title of which is, "An act for the farther limitation of the crown, and better securing

curing the rights and liberties of the subject;" and lately, in the sixth year of the reign of her present majesty, this succession having been again established and confirmed by another act made for the greater security of her majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of Great Britain, &c.; in the line of the most serene house of Hanover, and in the person of the princess Sophia, and of her heirs, successors and descendants, male and female, already born or to be born; and although no power hath any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject by the crown and parliament of Great Britain; if it shall happen nevertheless, that under any pretence, or by any cause whatever, any person or any power or state may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament hath made of the aforesaid succession in the most serene house of Hanover, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting seditions and conspiracies against her or him to whom the crown of Great Britain shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; the States-general engage and promise to assist and maintain in the said succession her or him to whom it shall belong by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession, if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking of such possession, or in the actual possession, of the aforesaid succession.

ARTICLE III.

Her said majesty and the States-general, in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the emperor, the late king of Great Britain, and the States-general, the seventh of September, 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the Spanish Low-countries.

ARTICLE IV.

And farther, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said States.

ARTICLE V.

And whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, among other matters, how and in what manner the States shall be made safe by means of this barrier, the queen of Great Britain will use her endeavours to procure that in the treaty of peace it may be agreed, that all the Spanish Low-countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the States.

ARTICLE VI.

That to this end their high mightinesses shall have the liberty to put and keep garrison, to change, augment, and diminish it, as they shall judge proper, in the places following: namely, Newport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Lisle, Tournay

and

and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which shall from henceforward be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify the ports off Perle, Philippe, Damme, the castle of Gand, and Dendermonde. The fort of St. Donas being joined to the fortification of the Sluce, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rodenhuyse on this side Gand shall be demolished.

ARTICLE VII.

The said States-general may, in case of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary in all the towns, places, and forts in the Spanish Low-countries, where the reason of war shall require it.

ARTICLE VIII.

They may likewise send into the towns, forts, and places, where they shall have their garrisons, without any hindrance and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms, and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said garrisons and fortifications.

ARTICLE IX.

The said States-general shall also have liberty to appoint, in the towns, forts, and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garrisons, such governors and commanders, majors and other officers, as they

they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their high mightinesses (exclusive of all others); still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of king Charles the third.

ARTICLE X.

That, besides, the States shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places, and forts which belong to them, and repair the fortifications of them in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and farther to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

ARTICLE XI.

It is agreed, that the States-general shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the time of the death of the late king Charles II; and, besides, a million of livres shall be settled for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns every three months out of the clearest revenues of the Spanish Low-countries, which the said king was then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garrisons of the States, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines, and other necessary expenses in the towns and places above mentioned. And, that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expenses

penses, endeavours shall be used for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid as much as possible; and particularly, for including, with the jurisdiction of Ypres, that of Cassel, and the forest of Niepe; and with the jurisdiction of Lisle, the jurisdiction of Douay, both having been so joined before the present war.

ARTICLE XII.

That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spanish Low-countries shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of France, or any one of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor in any other manner whatsoever, nor be put into the power, or under the authority, of the most Christian king, or any one of the line of France.

ARTICLE XIII.

And whereas the said States-general, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with king Charles the third, for putting the States in a condition of safety by means of the said barrier, the queen of Great Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars relating to the barrier of the States may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty or convention; and that her said majesty will continue her good offices, until the abovementioned convention between the States and the said king Charles the third be concluded agreeably

agreeably to what is beforementioned: and that her majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

ARTICLE XIV.

And, that the said States may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a barrier for the Spanish Low-countries, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the mean time the said king Charles III. shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said Spanish Low-countries, neither entirely nor in part: and during that time the queen shall assist their high mightinesses to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a year abovementioned.

ARTICLE XV.

And whereas their high mightinesses have stipulated by the treaty of Munster, in the fourteenth article, that the river Schelde, as also the canals of Sas, Swyn, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon, should be kept shut on the side of the States:

And in the fifteenth article, that the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders shall be and remain charged with all such imposts, and other duties, as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the Schelde, and the other canals abovementioned:

The queen of Great Britain promises and engages, that their high mightinesses shall never be disturbed

disturbed in their right and possession in that respect, neither directly nor indirectly; as also, that the commerce shall not, in prejudice of the said treaty, be made more easy by the seaports than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the sea, on the side of the States of the United Provinces, neither directly nor indirectly.

And whereas, by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the same treaty of Munster, his majesty the king of Spain is obliged to treat the subjects of their high mightinesses as favourably as the subjects of Great Britain and the Hans-towns, who were then the people most favourably treated; her Britannick majesty and their high mightinesses promise likewise to take care, that the subjects of Great Britain, and of their high mightinesses, shall be treated in the Spanish Low-countries as well as in Spain, the kingdoms and states belonging to it, equally and as well the one as the other, as the people most favoured.

ARTICLE XVI.

The said queen and States-general oblige themselves to furnish by sea and land the succours and assistance necessary to maintain by force her said majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms; and the most serene house of Hanover in the said succession, in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament beforementioned; and to maintain the said States-general in the possession of the said barrier.

ARTICLE XVII.

After the ratifications of the treaty, a particular convention

convention shall be made of the conditions, by which the said queen and the said lords the States-general will engage themselves to furnish the succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

ARTICLE XVIII.

If her British majesty, or the States-general of the United Provinces, be attacked by any body whatsoever by reason of this convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

ARTICLE XIX.

There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty, as soon as possible, all the kings, princes, and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his imperial majesty, the kings of Spain and Prussia, and the elector of Hanover. And her British majesty and the States-general of the United Provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

ARTICLE XX.

And as time has shown the omission which was made in the treaty signed at Ryswick in the year 1697, between England and France, in respect of the right of the succession of England in the person of her majesty the queen of Great Britain, now reigning; and that, for want of having settled

ded in that treaty this indisputable right of her majesty, France refused to acknowledge her for queen of Great Britain after the death of the late king William III. of glorious memory; her majesty the queen of Great Britain, and the lords the States-general of the United Provinces, do agree, and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of her majesty to the crown of Great Britain, as also the right of succession of the most serene house of Hanover to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the beforementioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by France, and that France has promised at the same time to remove out of its dominions the person who pretends to be king of Great Britain; and that no negotiation or formal discussion of the articles of the said treaty of peace shall be entered into but jointly, and at the same time, with the said queen, or with her ministers.

ARTICLE XXI.

Her British majesty and the lords the States-general of the United Provinces shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present treaty within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing. In testimony whereof the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and the deputies of the lords the States-general, have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At

At the Hague, the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SEPARATE ARTICLE.

As in the preliminary articles signed here at the Hague the 28th of May 1709, by the plenipotentiaries of his imperial majesty, of her majesty the queen of Great Britain, and of the lords the States-general of the United Provinces, it is stipulated, among other things, that the lords the States-general shall have, with entire property and sovereignty, the upper quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster of the year 1648; as also, that the garrisons which are, or hereafter shall be, on the part of the lords the States-general, in the town of Huy, the citadel of Liege, and the town of Bonne, shall remain there, until it shall be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire: and as the barrier which is this day agreed upon in the principal treaty for the mutual guarantee between her British majesty and the lords the States-general, cannot give to the United Provinces the safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured

cured from one end to the other, and that the communication of it be well joined together, for which the upper quarter of Guelder, and the garrisons in the citadel of Liege, Huy, and Bonne are absolutely necessary (experience having thrice shown, that France having a design to attack the United Provinces, has made use of the places abovementioned, in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the said provinces). And farther, as in respect to the equivalent for which the upper quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the United Provinces, according to the fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster abovementioned, his majesty king Charles III. will be much more gratified and advantaged in other places than that equivalent can avail: to the end therefore that the lords of the States-general may have the upper quarter of Guelder with entire property and sovereignty; and that the said upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this manner to the said lords the States-general, in the convention, or the treaty that they are to make with his majesty king Charles III. according to the thirteenth article of the treaty concluded this day; as also that their garrisons in the citadel of Liege, in that of Huy, and in Bonne, may remain there, until it be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire; her majesty the queen of Great Britain engages herself, and promises by this separate article, which shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the principal treaty, to make the same efforts for all this, as she has engaged herself to make for the obtaining the barrier in the Spanish Low-countries. In testimony whereof

the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and deputies of the lords the States-general, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SECOND SEPARATE ARTICLE.

As the lords the States-general have represented, that in Flanders the limits between Spanish Flanders and that of the States are settled in such a manner, as that the land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there; so that in some places the territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to the fortifications, and under the cannon of the places, towns, and forts of the States, which occasions many inconveniences, as has been seen by an example a little before the beginning of the present war, when a fort was designed to have been built under the cannon of the Sas Van Gand, under pretence that it was upon the territory of Spain: and as it is necessary, for avoiding these and other sorts of inconveniences, that the lands of the States upon the confines of Flanders should be enlarged, and that the places, towns, and forts

should

ıld by that means be better covered: her
ish majesty, entering into the just motives
hē said lords the States-general in this res-
; promises and engages herself by this se-
ıte article, that in the convention which the
lords the States-general are to make with his
esty king Charles the third, she will assist
n, as that it may be agreed, that by the ces-
to the said lords the States-general of the
)erty of an extent of land necessary to ob-
e such like and other inconveniences, their
ts in Flanders shall be enlarged more con-
iently for their security; and those of the
nish Flanders removed farther from their
ns, places, and forts, to the end that these
y not be so exposed any more. In testimony
:reof, the underwritten ambassador extraor-
ıry and plenipotentiary of her British majesty,
deputies of the lords the States-general, have
ıed the present separate article, and have af-
d their seals thereunto.

ıt the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) A. Heinsius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

The Articles of the COUNTER-PROJECT, *which were struck out or altered by the Dutch in the Barrier Treaty; with some Remarks.*

ARTICLE VI.

To this end their high mightinesses shall have power to put and keep garrisons in the following places, viz. Newport, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Lisle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify the fort of Perle, Damme, and the castle of Gand.

REMARKS.

In the barrier treaty, the States added the following places to those mentioned in this article, viz. Furnes, Ypres, towns of Lisle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort of St. Donas (which is to be in property to the States), and the fort of Rhodenhuysen to be demolished. To say nothing of the other places, Dendermond is the key of all Brabant; and the demolishing of the fort of Rhodenhuysen, situate between Gand and Sas Van Gand, can only serve to defraud the king of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

ARTICLE VII.

The said States may put into the said towns, forts, and places, and in case of open war with France, into all the other towns, places, and forts, whatever troops the reason of war shall require.

REMARKS.

REMARKS.

But in the barrier treaty it is said: in case of an apparent attack, or war, without specifying against France: neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

Besides some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the king of Spain, but likewise for his revenues in the said towns; which revenues in the barrier treaty are all given to the States.

ARTICLE XI.

The revenues of the chattellanies and dependencies of the towns and places, which the States shall have for their barrier against France, and which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the late king of Spain's death, shall be settled to be a fund for maintaining garrisons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other necessary charges of the said towns of the barrier.

REMARKS.

I desire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

All this to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions as the queen of Great Britain

Britain and their high mightinesses may think fit to make for the future with the said king Charles the third, relating to the Spanish Netherlands, or to the said barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

And to the end that the said States may enjoy at present as much as it is possible a barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

REMARKS.

These two articles are not in the barrier treaty, but two others in their stead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these articles, when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well as to the king of Spain; especially in the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

ARTICLE XX.

And whereas by the fifth and ninth articles of the alliance between the emperor, the late king of Great Britain, and the States-general, concluded the seventh of September, 1701, it is agreed and stipulated, that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, shall be recovered from the possession of France, as being of the last

last consequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spanish Netherlands, for a barrier for the States general; therefore the said queen of Great Britain and the States-general agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the restitution of the said kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy as well as the Spanish Low-countries, with the other towns and places in the possession of France abovementioned in this treaty; and also after the manner specified in this treaty; as likewise all the rest of the entire monarchy of Spain be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

And whereas experience has shown of what importance it is to Great Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortress and port of Dunkirk should not be in the possession of France in the condition they are at present; the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses, and suffered so much in their trade by the prizes taken from them by privateers set out from that port: insomuch that France by her unmeasurable ambition may be always tempted to make some enterprises upon the territories of the queen of Great Britain and their high mightinesses, and interrupt the publick repose and tranquillity; for the preservation of which, and the balance of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burdensome war; therefore the said queen of Great

Great Britain and their high mightinesses agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it shall be yielded and stipulated by France as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and rased, and that the port be entirely ruined and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier treaty; whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of Austria; and the other about demolishing those of Great Britain. It is something strange, that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamour about the necessity of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, should suffer the Dutch to strike out this article, which I think clearly shows the reason why the States never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to the emperor, but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of Flanders, because they had determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing Dunkirk, I am not at all surprised to find it struck out; the destruction of that place, although it would be useful to the States, does more nearly import Britain, and was therefore a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The

The Sentiments of Prince EUGENE *of Savoy, and of the Count* DE ZINZENDORF, *relating to the Barrier of the States-general, to the upper Quarter of Guelder, and to the Towns of the Electorate of Cologn, and of the Bishoprick of Liege.*

ALTHOUGH the orders and instructions of the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, upon the matters above-mentioned, do not go so far as to give directions for what follows; notwithstanding, the prince and court above-mentioned, considering the present state of affairs, are of the following opinion:

First, that the counter-project of England, relating to the places where the States-general may put and keep garrisons, ought to be followed, except Lier, Halle to fortify, and the castle of Gand. Provided likewise, that the sentiments of England be particularly conformed to, relating to Dendermond and Ostend, as places in nowise belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as the castle of Gand, can only serve to make the States-general masters of the Low-countries, and hinder trade with England. And as to Lier and Halle, those who are acquainted with the country know that these towns cannot give any security to the States-general; but can only make people believe, that these places being fortified would rather serve to block up Brussels and the other great cities of Brabant.

Secondly, as to what is said in the seventh article

article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garrisons in the towns of the barrier in case of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the said prince and count; who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the eighth article, that no goods or merchandise should be sent into the towns where the States-general shall have garrisons, nor be comprehended under the names of such things as the said garrisons and fortifications shall have need of. And to this end the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise the quantity shall be settled that the garrisons may want.

Thirdly, as to the ninth article relating to the governors and commanders of those towns, forts, and places where the States-general shall have their garrisons; the said prince and count are of opinion, that the said governors and commanders ought to take an oath as well to the king of Spain as to the States-general: but they may take a particular oath to the latter, that they will not admit foreign troops without their consent; and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States in whatever regards the military power. But at the same time they ought exclusively to promise the king of Spain, that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the king's officers to assist them in the execution; in which case the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly, as to the tenth article there is nothing

thing to be added, unless that the States-general may repair and increase the fortifications of the towns, places, and forts where they shall have their garrisons; but this at their own expense. Otherwise, under that pretext, they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly, as to the eleventh article they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chattellanies and dependencies of these towns and places, which are to be their barrier against France; this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil economy of the country. But the said prince and count are of opinion, that the States-general ought to have, for the maintenance of their garrisons and fortifications, a sum of money of a million and half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the king's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum before any other payment.

Sixthly, and the convention which shall be made on this affair between his catholick majesty and the States-general shall be for a limited time.

These are the utmost conditions to which the said prince and count think it possible for his catholick majesty to be brought; and they declare at the same time, that their imperial and catholick majesties will sooner abandon the Low-countries than to take them upon other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side, the said prince and count are persuaded, that the advantages at this time yielded to the States-general may hereafter be very prejudicial

dicial to themselves; forasmuch as they may put the people of the Spanish Netherlands to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the said prince and count are of opinion, that the States-general may be allowed the power of putting in garrisons into Venlo, Ruremond, and Staffenswaert, with orders to furnish the said States with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to Bonne, belonging to the electorate of Cologn, Liege, and Huy to the bishoprick of Liege, it is to be understood, that these being imperial towns, it does not depend upon the emperor to consent that foreign garrisons should be placed in them upon any pretence whatsoever. But whereas the States-general demand them only for their security, it is proposed to place in those towns a garrison of imperial troops of whom the States may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garrison of an elector, who might possibly have views opposite to their interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to rase one or other of the said towns.

The Representation of the English Merchants at Bruges, relating to the Barrier Treaty.

DAVID WHITE and other merchants, her majesty's subjects residing at Bruges, and other towns in Flanders, crave leave humbly to represent:

THAT whereas the cities of Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other new conquests in Flanders and Artois, taken from the French this war by the united forces of her majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States-general; and that we her majesty's subjects may be made liable to such duties and impositions on trade as the said States-general shall think fit to impose on us: we humbly hope and conceive, that it is her majesty's intention and design, that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the States-general, and not be liable to any new duty, when transported from the Spanish Netherlands to the said new conquests, as to our great surprise is exacted from us on the following goods, viz. butter, tallow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other products of her majesty's dominions, which we import at Ostend, and there pay the duty of entry to the king of Spain, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the same goods and all others from their dominions by a free pass or transire to the said new conquests: and we are under apprehension, that if the said new conquests be

be settled, or given entirely into the possession of the States-general for their barrier (as we are made to believe by a treaty lately made by her majesty's ambassador, the lord viscount Townshend, at the Hague) that the States-general may also soon declare all goods and merchandises, which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband or prohibited in these new conquests, or new barrier: by which her majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of her majesty's dominions, which are and have long been declared contraband in the United Provinces, such as English and Scots salt, malt spirits, or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled English spirits, whale and rape oil, &c.

It is therefore humbly conceived, that her majesty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce, or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot in all the Spanish Netherlands and the new conquests of barrier with the subjects of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the king of Spain; and by a provision, that no product of her majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. king of Spain. And it is also humbly prayed, that the product and manufacture of the new conquests may be also exported without paying any new duty, beside that of exportation at Ostend, which was always paid to the king of Spain; it being impossible

impossible for any nation in Europe to assort an entire cargo for the Spanish West Indies without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of Lisle; such as caradoros, cajant, picoses, boratten, and many other goods.

The chief things to be demanded of France are, to be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings and all other fish to France on the same terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryswick. The enlarging her majesty's plantations in America, &c. is naturally recommended.

A PROPOSAL

FOR CORRECTING, IMPROVING, AND ASCERTAINING,

THE

ENGLISH TONGUE*,

IN

A LETTER TO THE MOST HONOURABLE ROBERT EARL OF OXFORD AND MORTIMER, LORD HIGH TREASURER OF GREAT BRITAIN.

FIRST PRINTED IN MAY 1712.

* This Proposal was cavalierly censured by an anonymous writer, supposed to be Mr. Oldmixon, in "Reflections on Dr. Swift's Letter to the Earl of Oxford, about the English Tongue, 1712." It produced also "The British Academy; being a new-created Society for the Advancement of Wit and Learning; with some few Observations on it, 1712," 8vo.; which, amidst some playful attacks on Dr. Swift, contains the following account of the members of the famous society to which the Journal to Stella so frequently alludes. It is translated from an article of London news, in the Amsterdam Gazette of May 20. "There has been lately formed here a Society to reward and encourage merit, with respect to the Liberal Arts and Sciences. It is to be composed of 21 members, of which number there are already 19 chosen; the dukes of Beaufort and Ormond; the earls of Arran and Orrery; the lords Duplin, son-in-law of the lord treasurer; Harley, son of the said treasurer; Lansdown, secretary at war; Masham and Bathurst; Sir William Wyndham; Mr. St. John, secretary of state; Harcourt, son of the lord keeper; and Raymond, solicitor general; the colonels Hill and Disney; Swift, Doctor in Divinity; Prior; Arbuthnot, the queen's physician; and Freind, physician to the duke of Ormond. These gentlemen, who have deferred naming the other two members till such time as they think fit, do now assemble every Thursday; and have already given rewards to some authors, whose works have been approved of, and have recommended others to the ministers of state, that they may have some establishment."

" I have been six hours to-day morning writing nineteen pages of a letter to lord treasurer, about forming a society, or academy, to correct and fix the English language. It will not be above five or six more. I will send it him to-morrow; and will print it, if he desires me." Journal to Stella, Feb. 21, 1711-12.

" I finished the rest of my letter to lord treasurer to-day, and sent it to him." Ibid. Feb. 22.

" Lord treasurer has lent the long letter I writ him to Prior; and I can't get Prior to return it. I want to have it printed; and to make up this academy for the improvement of our language." Ibid. March 11.

" My letter to the lord treasurer about the English tongue is now printing; and I suffer my name to be put at the end of it, which I never did before in my life." Ibid. May 10, 1712.

" Have you seen my letter to the lord treasurer? There are two answers come out to it already, though it is no politicks, but a harmless proposal about the improvement of the English tongue. I believe, if I writ an essay upon a straw, some fool would answer it." Ibid. May 31.

" You never told me, how my letter to lord treasurer passes in Ireland." Ibid. July 1.

" What care I, whether my letter to lord treasurer be commended there or not? Why does not somebody among you answer it, as three or four have done here?" Ibid. July 17.

A PROPOSAL

FOR CORRECTING, IMPROVING, AND ASCERTAINING THE ENGLISH TONGUE.

MY LORD, *London, Feb.* 22, 1711-12.

WHAT I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship some time ago in conversation, was not a new thought, just then started by accident or occasion, but the result of long reflection; and I have been confirmed in my sentiments, by the opinion of some very judicious persons, with whom I consulted. They all agreed, that nothing would be of greater use toward the improvement of knowledge and politeness, than some effectual method for correcting, enlarging, and ascertaining our language: and they think it a work* very possible to be compassed under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a ministry, and the care of proper persons chosen for such an undertaking†. I was glad to find

* This sentence is uncouth, and ungrammatical, and may easily be amended thus—'And they think it very possible to compass the work,' &c. S.

† "Dr. Swift proposed a plan of this nature (the forming a society to fix a standard to the English language) to his friend, as he thought him, the lord treasurer Oxford, but without success; precision and perspicuity not being in general the favourite objects of ministers, and perhaps still less so of *that* minister than any other." CHESTERFIELD.

your lordship's answer in so different a style, from what has been commonly made use of on the like occasions, for some years past, That all such thoughts must be deferred to a time of peace: a topick, which some have carried so far, that they would not have us by any means think of preserving our civil or religious constitution, because we are engaged in a war abroad. It will be among the distinguishing marks of your ministry, my lord, that you have a genius above all such regards, and that no reasonable proposal for the honour, the advantage, or the ornament of your country, however foreign to your more immediate office, was ever neglected by you. I confess the merit of this candour and condescension is very much lessened, because your lordship hardly leaves us room to offer our good wishes; removing all our difficulties, and supplying our wants, faster than the most visionary projector can adjust his schemes. And therefore, my lord, the design of this paper is not so much to offer you ways and means, as to complain of a grievance, the redressing of which is to be your own work, as much as that of paying the nation's debts, or opening a trade into the South-Sea; and though not of such immediate benefit, as either of these, or any other of your glorious actions, yet, perhaps, in future ages not less to your honour.

My lord, I do here, in the name of all the learned and polite persons of the nation, complain to your lordship, as first minister, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to polish and refine it, have chiefly

chiefly multiplied abuses and absurdities; and that in many instances it offends against every part of grammar. But lest your lordship should think my censure too severe, I shall take leave to be more particular.

I believe your lordship will agree with me in the reason, why our language is less refined than those of Italy, Spain, or France. 'Tis plain, that the Latin tongue in its purity was never in this island, toward the conquest of which, few or no attempts were made till the time of Claudius; neither was that language ever so vulgar in Britain, as it is known to have been in Gaul and Spain. Farther, we find that the Roman legions here were at length all recalled to help their country against the Goths, and other barbarous invaders. Meantime the Britains, left to shift for themselves, and daily harassed by cruel inroads from the Picts, were forced to call in the Saxons for their defence; who, consequently, reduced the greatest part of the island to their own power, drove the Britains into the most remote and mountainous parts, and the rest of the country, in customs, religion, and language, became wholly Saxon. This I take to be the reason, why there are more Latin words * remaining

* "As for our *English* tongue; the great alterations it has undergone in the two last centuries are principally owing to that vast stock of *Latin* words which we have transplanted into our own soil; which being now in a manner exhausted, one may easily presage that it will not have such changes in the two next centuries. Nay, it were no difficult contrivance, if the publick had any regard to it, to make the *English* tongue immutable; unless hereafter some foreign nation shall invade and over-run us." BENTLEY.

in

in the British tongue, than in the old Saxon, which, excepting some few variations in the orthography, is the same in most original words with our present English, as well as with the German and other Northern dialects.

Edward the Confessor having lived long in France, appears to be the first who introduced any mixture of the French tongue with the Saxon; the court affecting what the prince was fond of, and others taking it up for a fashion, as it is now with us. William the Conqueror proceeded much farther; bringing over with him vast numbers of that nation, scattering them in every monastery, giving them great quantities of land, directing all pleadings to be in that language, and endeavouring to make it universal in the kingdom. This at least is the opinion generally received: but your lordship has fully convinced me, that the French tongue made yet a greater progress here under Harry the Second, who had large territories on that continent both from his father and his wife, made frequent journeys and expeditions thither, and was always attended with a number of his countrymen, retainers at his court. For some centuries after, there was a constant intercourse between France and England, by the dominions we possessed there, and the conquests we made; so that our language, between two and three hundred years ago, seems to have had a greater mixture with French, than at present; many words having been afterward rejected, and some since the time of Spencer; although we have still retained not a few, which have been long antiquated in France. I could produce several instances

stances of both kinds, if it were of any use or entertainment.

To examine into the several circumstances by which the language of a country may be altered, would force me to enter into a wide field. I shall only observe, that the Latin, the French, and the English, seem to have undergone the same fortune. The first, from the days of Romulus to those of Julius Cæsar, suffered perpetual changes: and by what we meet in those authors who occasionally speak on that subject, as well as from certain fragments of old laws, it is manifest that the Latin, three hundred years before Tully, was as unintelligible in his time, as the English and French of the same period are now; and these two have changed as much since William the Conqueror, (which is but little less than seven hundred years) as the Latin appears to have done in the like term. Whether our language, or the French, will decline as fast as the Roman did, is a question, that would perhaps admit more debate than it is worth. There were many reasons for the corruptions of the last: as, the change of their government to a tyranny, which ruined the study of eloquence, there being no farther use or encouragement for popular orators: their giving not only the freedom of the city, but capacity for employments, to several towns in Gaul, Spain, and Germany, and other distant parts, as far as Asia; which brought a great number of foreign pretenders into Rome: the slavish disposition of the senate and people, by which the wit and eloquence of the age were wholly turned into panegyrick, the most barren of all subjects: the great

corruption

corruption of manners, and introduction of foreign luxury, with foreign terms to express it, with several others that might be assigned; not to mention those invasions from the Goths and Vandals, which are too obvious to insist on *.

The Roman language arrived at great perfection, before it began to decay: and the French, for these last fifty years, has been polishing as much as it will bear, and appears to be declining by the natural inconstancy of that people, and the affectation of some late authors to introduce and multiply cant words, which is the most ruinous corruption in any language. La Bruyere, a late celebrated writer among them, makes use of many new terms, which are not to be found in any of the common dictionaries before his time. But the English tongue is not arrived to such a degree of perfection, as to make us apprehend any thoughts of its decay; and if it were once refined to a certain standard, perhaps there might be ways found out to fix it for ever, or at least till we are invaded and made a conquest † by some other state; and even then our best writings might probably be preserved with care, and grow into esteem, and the authors have a chance for immortality.

But without such great revolutions as these (to which we are, I think, less subject than kingdoms upon the continent) I see no absolute necessity why any language should be perpetually changing; for we find many examples to the contrary.

* This is ungrammatical; it should be—' which are too obvious *to be insisted on.*' S.

† It should be—' made a conquest *of*,' &c. S.

From

From Homer to Plutarch are above a thousand years; so long at least the purity of the Greek tongue may be allowed to last, and we know not how far before. The Grecians spread their colonies round all the coasts of Asia Minor, even to the northern parts lying toward the Euxine, in every island of the Ægean sea, and several others in the Mediterranean; where the language was preserved entire for many ages, after they themselves became colonies to Rome, and till they were overrun by the barbarous nations upon the fall of that empire. The Chinese have books in their language above two thousand years old, neither have the frequent conquests of the Tartars been able to alter it. The German, Spanish, and Italian, have admitted few or no changes for some ages past. The other languages of Europe I know nothing of; neither is there any occasion to consider them.

Having taken this compass, I return to those considerations upon our own language, which I would humbly offer your lordship. The period, wherein the English tongue received most improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty-two. 'Tis true, there was a very ill taste both of style and wit, which prevailed under king James the first; but that seems to have been corrected in the first years of his successor, who, among many other qualifications of an excellent prince, was a great patron of learning. From the civil war to this present time, I am apt to doubt, whether the corruptions in our language have not at least equalled the

the refinements of it; and these corruptions very few of the best authors in our age have wholly escaped. During the usurpation, such an infusion of enthusiastick jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not shaken off in many years after. To this succeeded that licentiousness which entered with the restoration, and from infecting our religion and morals, fell to corrupt our language; which last was not likely to be much improved by those, who at the time made up the court of king Charles the second; either such who had followed him in his banishment, or who had been altogether conversant in the dialect of those fanatic times; or young men, who had been educated in the same country: so that the court, which used to be the standard of propriety and correctness of speech, was then, and, I think, has ever since continued, the worst school in England for that accomplishment; and so will remain, till better care be taken in the education of our young nobility, that they may set out into the world with some foundation of literature, in order to qualify them for patterns of politeness. The consequence of this defect, upon our language, may appear from the plays, and other compositions written for entertainment within fifty years past; filled with a succession of affected phrases, and new conceited words, either borrowed from the current style of the court, or from those, who, under the character of men of wit and pleasure, pretended to give the law. Many of these refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which

which is no wonder, when they were the product only of ignorance and caprice.

I have never known this great town without one or more dunces of figure, who had credit enough to give rise to some new word, and propagate it in most conversations, though it had neither humour nor significancy. If it struck the present taste, it was soon transferred into the plays and current scribbles of the week, and became an addition to our language; while the men of wit and learning, instead of early obviating such corruptions, were too often seduced to imitate and comply with them.

There is another set of men, who have contributed very much to the spoiling of the English tongue; I mean the poets from the time of the restoration. These gentlemen, although they could not be insensible how much our language was already overstocked with monosyllables, yet, to save time and pains, introduced that barbarous custom of abbreviating words, to fit them to the measure of their verses; and this they have frequently done so very injudiciously, as to form such harsh unharmonious sounds, that none but a northern ear could endure; they have joined the most obdurate consonants without one intervening vowel, only to shorten a syllable; and their taste in time became so depraved, that what was at first a poetical license, not to be justified, they made their choice, alleging, that the words pronounced at length sounded faint and languid. This was a pretence to take up the same custom in prose; so that most of the books we see nowadays, are full of those manglings and abbreviations,

tions. Instances of this abuse are innumerable: what does your lordship think of the words, drudg'd, disturb'd, rebuk'd, fledg'd, and a thousand others every where to be met with in prose as well as verse? Where, by leaving out a vowel to save a syllable, we form so jarring a sound, and so difficult to utter, that I have often wondered how it could ever obtain.

Another cause (and perhaps borrowed from the former) which has contributed not a little to the maiming of our language, is a foolish opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to spell exactly as we speak; which, beside the obvious inconvenience of utterly destroying our etymology, would be a thing we should never see an end of. Not only the several towns and counties of England have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in London they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the suburbs: and in a few years, it is probable, will all differ from themselves, as fancy or fashion shall direct: all which reduced to writing would entirely confound orthography. Yet many people are so fond of this conceit, that it is sometimes a difficult matter to read modern books and pamphlets; where the words are so curtailed, and varied from their original spelling, that whoever has been used to plain English, will hardly know them by sight.

Several young men at the universities, terribly possessed with the fear of pedantry, run into a worse extreme, and think all politeness to consist in reading the daily trash sent down to them from hence: this they call knowing the world, and

reading

reading men and manners. Thus furnished they come up to town, reckon all their errours for accomplishments, borrow the newest set of phrases; and if they take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have picked up in a coffeehouse, or a gaming ordinary, are produced as flowers of style; and the orthography refined to the utmost. To this we owe those monstrous productions, which, under the name of Trips, Spies, Amusements, and other conceited appellations, have overrun us for some years past. To this we owe that strange race of wits, who tell us, they write to the humour of the age. And I wish I could say, these quaint fopperies were wholly absent from graver subjects. In short, I would undertake to show your lordship several pieces, where the beauties of this kind are so predominant, that, with all your skill in languages, you could never be able to read or understand them.

But I am very much mistaken, if many of these false refinements among us do not arise from a principle, which would quite destroy their credit, if it were well understood and considered. For I am afraid, my lord, that with all the real good qualities of our country, we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual disposition to shorten our words by retrenching the vowels, is nothing else but a tendency to lapse into the barbarity of those northern nations, from whom we are descended, and whose languages labour all under the same defect. For it is worthy our observation, that the Spaniards, the French, and the Italians, although derived from the same northern ancestors with ourselves, are with the utmost difficulty

ficulty taught to pronounce our words, which the Swedes and Danes, as well as the Germans and the Dutch, attain to with ease, because our syllables resemble theirs in the roughness and frequency of consonants. Now, as we struggle with an ill climate to improve the nobler kinds of fruits, are at the expense of walls to receive and reverberate the faint rays of the sun, and fence against the northern blast, we sometimes, by the help of a good soil, equal the production of warmer countries, who have no need to be at so much cost and care. It is the same thing with respect to the politer arts among us; and the same defect of heat which gives a fierceness to our natures, may contribute to that roughness of our language, which bears some analogy to the harsh fruit of colder countries. For I do not reckon that we want a genius more than the rest of our neighbours: but your lordship will be of my opinion, that we ought to struggle with these natural disadvantages as much as we can, and be careful whom we employ, whenever we design to correct them, which is a work that has hitherto been assumed by the least qualified hands. So that if the choice had been left to me, I would rather have trusted the refinement of our language, as far as it relates to sound, to the judgment of the women, than of illiterate court fops, half-witted poets, and university boys. For it is plain, that women, in their manner of corrupting words, do naturally discard the consonants, as we do the vowels. What I am going to tell your lordship appears very trifling: that more than once, where some of both sexes were in company, I have persuaded

suaded two or three of each to take a pen, and write down a number of letters joined together, just as it came into their heads; and upon reading this gibberish, we have found that which the men had wrote*, by the frequent encountering of rough consonants, to sound like High Dutch; and the other, by the women, like Italian, abounding in vowels and liquids. Now, though I would by no means give ladies the trouble of advising us in the reformation of our language, yet I cannot help thinking, that since they have been left out of all meetings, except parties at play, or where worse designs are carried on, our conversation has very much degenerated.

In order to reform our language, I conceive, my lord, that a free judicious choice should be made of such persons, as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a work, without any regard to quality, party, or profession. These, to a certain number at least, should assemble at some appointed time and place, and fix on rules, by which they design to proceed. What methods they will take, is not for me to prescribe. Your lordship, and other persons in great employments, might please to be of the number: and I am afraid such a society would want your instruction and example, as much as your protection; for I have, not without a little envy, observed of late the style of some great ministers very much to exceed that of any other productions.

The persons who are to undertake this work, will have the example of the French before them,

* It should be—'*had written.*' S.

to imitate where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes. Beside the grammar part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross improprieties, which, however authorized by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long since antiquated, which ought to be restored on account of their energy and sound.

But what I have most at heart, is, that some method should be thought on for ascertaining and fixing our language for ever, after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite. For I am of opinion, it is better a language should not be wholly perfect, than that it should be perpetually changing; and we must give over at one time, or at length infallibly change for the worse; as the Romans did, when they began to quit their simplicity of style, for affected refinements, such as we meet in Tacitus and other authors; which ended by degrees in many barbarities*, even before the Goths had invaded Italy.

The fame of our writers, is usually confined to these two islands, and it is hard it should be limited in time, as much as place, by the perpetual variations of our speech. It is your lordship's observation, that if it were not for the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the vulgar tongue, we should hardly be able to understand any thing,

* *Barbarisms*, would here be a more proper word, as being more peculiarly appropriated to express faults and impurities in style: and *barbarity*, in general, conveying the idea of cruelty. S.

that

that was written among us a hundred years ago; which is certainly true: for those books, being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of standard for language, especially to the common people. And I doubt, whether the alterations since introduced have added much to the beauty or strength of the English tongue, though they have taken off a great deal from that simplicity, which is one of the greatest perfections in any language. You, my lord, who are so conversant in the sacred writings, and so great a judge of them in their originals, will agree, that no translation our country ever yet produced, has come up to that of the Old and New Testament: and by the many beautiful passages, which I have often had the honour to hear your lordship cite from thence, I am persuaded, that the translators of the Bible were masters of an English style much fitter for that work, than any we see in our present writings; which I take to be owing to the simplicity that runs through the whole. Then, as to the greatest part of our liturgy, compiled long before the translation of the Bible now in use, and little altered since; there seem to be in it as great strains of true sublime eloquence, as are any where to be found in our language; which every man of good taste will observe in the communion service, that of burial, and other parts.

But when I say, that I would have our language, after it is duly correct, always to last, I do not mean that it should never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a society shall give a sanction to, be afterward antiquated and

exploded *, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they shall find occasion for; because then the old books will yet be always valuable according to their intrinsick worth, and not thrown aside on account of unintelligible words and phrases, which appear harsh and uncouth, only because they are out of fashion. Had the Roman tongue continued vulgar in that city till this time, it would have been absolutely necessary, from the mighty changes that have been made in law and religion, from the many terms of art required in trade and in war, from the new inventions that have happened in the world, from the vast spreading of navigation and commerce, with many other obvious circumstances, to have made great additions to that language; yet the antients would still have been read and understood with pleasure and ease. The Greek tongue received many enlargements between the time of Homer and that of Plutarch, yet the former author was probably as well understood in Trajan's time, as the latter. What Horace says of words going off and perishing like leaves, and new ones coming in their place, is a misfortune he laments, rather than a thing he approves; but I cannot see why this should be absolutely necessary, or if it were, what would have become of his *monumentum ære perennius.*

* "But what (says Dr. Johnson) makes a word obsolete, more than general agreement to forbear it? and how shall it be continued, when it conveys an offensive idea? or *recalled again* into the mouths of mankind, when it has once become unfamiliar by disuse, and unpleasing by familiarity?"—Preface to English Dictionary N.

Writing

Writing by memory only, as I do at present, I would gladly keep within my depth; and therefore shall not enter into farther particulars. Neither do I pretend more than to show the usefulness of this design, and to make some general observations, leaving the rest to that society, which I hope will owe its institution and patronage to your lordship. Besides, I would willingly avoid repetition, having about a year ago communicated to the publick much of what I had to offer upon this subject, by the hands of an ingenious gentleman, who for a long time did thrice a week divert or instruct the kingdom by his papers; and is supposed to pursue the same design at present under the title of Spectator. This author, who has tried the force and compass of our language with so much success, agrees entirely with me in most of my sentiments relating to it; so do the greatest part of the men of wit and learning, whom I have had the happiness to converse with; and therefore I imagine that such a society would be pretty unanimous in the main points.

Your lordship must allow, that such a work as this, brought to perfection, would very much contribute to the glory of her majesty's reign: which ought to be recorded in words more durable than brass, and such as our posterity may read a thousand years hence, with pleasure as well as admiration. I always disapproved that false compliment to princes, that the most lasting monument they can have is the hearts of their subjects. It is indeed their greatest present felicity

to reign in their subjects hearts; but these are too perishable to preserve their memories, which can only be done by the pens of able and faithful historians. And I take it to be your lordship's duty, as prime minister, to give order for inspecting our language, and rendering it fit to record the history of so great and good a princess. Besides, my lord, as disinterested as you appear to the world, I am convinced that no man is more in the power of a prevailing favourite passion than yourself; I mean that desire of true and lasting honour, which you have born along with you through every stage of your life. To this you have often sacrificed your interest, your ease, and your health: for preserving and increasing this, you have exposed your person to secret treachery, and open violence. There is not perhaps an example in history of any minister, who in so short a time has performed so many great things, and overcome so many difficulties. Now, though I am fully convinced, that you fear God, honour your queen, and love your country, as much as any of your fellow subjects, yet I must believe that the desire of fame has been no inconsiderable motive to quicken you in the pursuit of those actions, which will best deserve it. But at the same time I must be so plain as to tell your lordship, that if you will not take some care to settle our language, and put it into a state of continuance, I cannot promise that your memory shall be preserved above a hundred years, farther than by imperfect tradition.

As barbarous and ignorant as we were in former

mer centuries, there was more effectual care taken by our ancestors, to preserve the memory of times and persons, than we find in this age of learning and politeness, as we are pleased to call it. The rude Latin of the monks is still very intelligible: whereas, had their records been delivered down only in the vulgar tongue, so barren and so barbarous, so subject to continual succeeding changes, they could not now be understood, unless by antiquaries, who make it their study to expound them. And we must, at this day, have been content with such poor abstracts of our English story, as laborious men of low genius would think fit to give us: and even these, in the next age, would be likewise swallowed up in succeeding collections. If things go on at this rate, all I can promise your lordship, is, that about two hundred years hence, some painful compiler, who will be at the trouble of studying old language, may inform the world, that in the reign of queen Anne, Robert earl of Oxford, a very wise and excellent man, was made high treasurer, and saved his country, which in those days was almost ruined by a foreign war, and a domestick faction. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his new history; but the rest of your character, which I, or any other writer may now value ourselves by drawing, and the particular account of the great things done under your ministry, for which you are already so celebrated in most parts of Europe, will probably be dropped, on account of the antiquated style and manner they are delivered in.

How then shall any man, who has a genius for history equal to the best of the ancients, be able to undertake such a work with spirit and cheerfulness, when he considers that he will be read with pleasure but a very few years, and in an age or two shall hardly be understood without an interpreter? This is like employing an excellent statuary to work upon mouldering stone. Those, who apply their studies to preserve the memory of others, will always have some concern for their own. And I believe it is for this reason, that so few writers among us, of any distinction, have turned their thoughts to such a discouraging employment; for, the best English historian must lie under this mortification, that when his style grows antiquated he will be only considered as a tedious relater of facts; and perhaps consulted in his turn, among other neglected authors, to furnish materials for some future collector.

I doubt your lordship is but ill entertained with a few scattered thoughts upon a subject, that deserves to be treated with ability and care: however, I must beg leave to add a few words more, perhaps not altogether foreign to the same matter. I know not whether that which I am going to say may pass for caution, advice, or reproach, any of which will be justly thought very improper from one in my station, to one in yours. However, I must venture to affirm, that if genius and learning be not encouraged under your lordship's administration, you are the most inexcusable person alive. All your other virtues, my lord, will be defective without this; your affability

affability, candour, and good nature; that perpetual agreeableness of conversation, so disengaged in the midst of such a weight of business and opposition; even your justice, prudence, and magnanimity, will shine less bright without it. Your lordship is universally allowed to possess a very large portion in most parts of literature; and to this you owe the cultivating of those many virtues, which, otherwise, would have been less adorned, or in lower perfection. Neither can you acquit yourself of these obligations, without letting the arts, in their turn, share your influence and protection: besides, who knows but some true genius may happen to arise under your ministry, *exortus ut æthereus sol.* Every age might perhaps produce one or two of these to adorn it, if they were not sunk under the censure and obloquy of plodding, servile, imitating pedants: I do not mean by a true genius any bold writer, who breaks through the rules of decency, to distinguish himself by the singularity of his opinions: but one, who, upon a deserving subject, is able to open new scenes, and discover a vein of true and noble thinking, which never entered into any imagination before: every stroke of whose pen is worth all the paper blotted by hundreds of others in the compass of their lives. I know, my lord, your friends will offer in your defence, that, in your private capacity, you never refused your purse and credit to the service and support of learned or ingenious men: and that ever since you have been in publick employment, you have constantly bestowed your favours to the most deserving persons.

persons. But I desire your lordship not to be deceived; we never will admit of these excuses, nor will allow your private liberality, as great as it is, to atone for your excessive publick thrift. But here again I am afraid most good subjects will interpose in your defence, by alleging the desperate condition you found the nation in, and the necessity there was for so able and faithful a steward to retrieve it, if possible, by the utmost frugality. We grant all this, my lord; but then it ought likewise to be considered, that you have already saved several millions to the publick, and that what we ask, is too inconsiderable to break into any rules of the strictest good husbandry. The French king bestows about half a dozen pensions to learned men in several parts of Europe, and perhaps a dozen in his own kingdom: which, in the whole, do probably not amount to half the income of many a private commoner in England, yet have more contributed to the glory of that prince, than any million he has otherwise employed. For, learning, like all true merit, is easily satisfied; while the false and counterfeit is perpetually craving, and never thinks it has enough. The smallest favour given by a great prince, as a mark of esteem, to reward the endowments of the mind, never fails o be returned with praise and gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the world. I have known some years ago several pensions given to particularly persons, (how deservedly I shall not inquire) any one of which, if divided into smaller parcels, and distributed by the crown to those, who might upon occasion distinguish themselves

themselves by some extraordinary production of wit or learning, would be amply sufficient to answer the end. Or, if any such persons were above money, (as every great genius certainly is with very moderate conveniences of life) a medal, or some mark of distinction, would do full as well.

But I forget my province, and find myself turning projector before I am aware*; although it be one of the last characters under which I should desire to appear before your lordship, especially when I have the ambition of aspiring to that of being with the greatest respect and truth, My LORD,

Your Lordship's
most obedient, most obliged,
and most humble servant,
J. SWIFT.

* "This letter was written without much knowledge of the general nature of language, and without very accurate inquiry into the history of other tongues. The certainty and stability, which, contrary to all experience, Swift thinks attainable, he proposes to secure by instituting an academy; the decrees of which every man would have been willing, and many would have been proud to disobey; and which being renewed by successive elections, would in a short time have differed from itself." JOHNSON.

SOME

SOME

REASONS

TO PROVE

THAT NO ONE IS OBLIGED, BY HIS PRINCIPLES AS A WHIG, TO OPPOSE THE QUEEN:

IN A LETTER TO A WHIG LORD,

[THE LORD ASHBURNHAM.]

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

A SUPPOSED LETTER

FROM THE PRETENDER TO ANOTHER WHIG LORD.

BOTH FIRST PRINTED IN 1712.

"I was with my friend Lewis to-day, getting materials for a little mischief." Journal to Stella, May 28, 1712.

"Things are now in the way of being soon in the extremes of well or ill: I hope and believe the first. Lord Wharton is gone out of town in a rage; and curses himself and friends for ruining themselves in defending lords Marlborough and Godolphin, and taking Nottingham into their favour. He swears he will meddle no more during this reign; a pretty speech at sixty-six; and the queen is near twenty years younger, and now in very good health! Read the Letter to a Whig Lord*." Ibid. June 17.

"To-day there will be another Grub: A Letter from the Pretender to a Whig Lord. Grub street has but ten days to live; then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every halfsheet at a halfpenny." Ibid. July 19.

* Dr. Birch, in a note on this passage, supposes it to allude to the Letter from the Pretender, which however is not dated till July 8.—It evidently relates to the larger letter. A MS. note of Charles Ford, Esq. the confidential friend of Swift, not only confirms the fact of this letter being the production of the Dean; but supplies the name of lord Ashburnham, the Peer to whom it was addressed. N.

SOME

REASONS, &c.

MY LORD,

THE dispute between your lordship and me has, I think, no manner of relation to what in the common style of these times are called principles; wherein both parties seem well enough to agree, if we will but allow their professions. I can truly affirm, that none of the reasonable sober whigs I have conversed with did ever avow any opinion concerning religion or government, which I was not willing to subscribe; so that, according to my judgment, those terms of distinction ought to be dropped, and others introduced in their stead, to denominate men, as they are inclined to peace or war, to the last or the present ministry: for whoever thoroughly considers the matter will find these to be the only differences that divide the nation at present. I am apt to think your lordship would readily allow this, if you were not aware of the consequence I intend to draw: for it is plain, that the making peace and war, as well as the choice of ministers, is wholly in the crown; and therefore the dispute at present lies altogether between those who would support and those who would violate the royal prerogative. This decision may seem perhaps too sudden and severe; but I do not see how it can be

be contested. Give me leave to ask your lordship, whether you are not resolved to oppose the present ministry to the utmost? and whether it was not chiefly with this design, that, upon the opening of the present session, you gave your vote against any peace till Spain and the West Indies were recovered from the Bourbon family*? I am confident your lordship then believed, what several of your house and party have acknowledged, that the recovery of Spain was grown impracticable by several incidents, as well as by our utter inability to continue the war upon the former foot. But you reasoned right, that such a vote, in such a juncture, was the present way of ruining the present ministry. For, as her majesty would certainly lay much weight upon a vote of either house, so it was judged that her ministers would hardly venture to act directly against it; the natural consequence of which must be a dissolution of the parliament, and a return of all your friends into a full possession of power. This advantage the lords have over the commons, by being a fixed body of men, where a majority is not to be obtained, but by time and mortality, or new creations, or other methods which I will suppose the present age too virtuous to admit. Several noble lords, who joined with you in that vote, were but little inclined to disoblige the court, because it suited ill with their circumstances: but the poor gentlemen were told it was the safest part they

* A clause to this purpose, proposed by the earl of Nottingham, and seconded by the earl of Scarborough, to be added to an address to the queen, Dec. 7, 1711, was carried by a majority of not above two voices. N.

could

could act; for it was boldly alleged, that the queen herself was at the bottom of this affair; and one of your neighbours *, whom the dread of losing a great employment often puts into agonies, was growing fast into a very good courtier, began to cultivate the chief minister, and often expressed his approbation of present proceedings, till that unfortunate day of trial came, when the mighty hopes of a change revived his constancy, and encouraged him to adhere to his old friends. But the event, as your lordship saw, was directly contrary to what your great undertaker had flattered you with. The queen was so far from approving what you had done, that, to show she was in earnest, and to remove all future apprehensions from that quarter, she took a resolute necessary step †, which is like to make her easy for the rest of her reign; and which, I am confident, your lordship would not have been one of those to have put her upon, if you had not been most shamefully misinformed. After this, your party had nothing to do but sit down and murmur at so extraordinary an exertion of the prerogative, and quarrel at a necessity, which their own violence, inflamed by the treachery of others, had created. Now, my lord, if an action so indisputably in her majesty's power requires any excuse, we have a very good one at hand. We alleged, that the majority you hardly acquired with so much art and management, partly made up from a certain transitory bench, and partly of

* Charles Seymour, duke of Somerset. N.

† The creation of twelve new peers. N.

those

those whose nobility began with themselves, was wholly formed during the long power of your friends; so that it became necessary to turn the balance, by new creations; wherein, however, great care was taken to increase the peerage as little as possible *, and to make a choice against which no objection could be raised, with relation to birth or fortune, or other qualifications requisite for so high an honour.

There is no man hath a greater veneration than I for that noble part of our legislature, whereof your lordship is a member; and I will venture to assert, that, supposing it possible for corruptions to go far in either assembly, yours is less liable to them than a house of commons. A standing senate of persons nobly born, of great patrimonial estates, and of pious learned prelates, is not easily perverted from intending the true interest of their prince and country; whereas we have found, by experience, that a corrupt ministry, at the head of a monied faction, is able to procure a majority of whom they please, to represent the people. But then, my lord, on the other side, if it has been so contrived, by time and management, that the majority of a standing senate is made up of those who wilfully or otherwise mistake the publick good; the cure, by common remedies, is as slow as the disease: whereas a good prince, in the hearts of his people, and at the head of a ministry who leaves them to their own free choice, cannot miss

* This promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those, on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception. SWIFT.

a good

a good assembly of commons. Now, my lord, we do assert that this majority of yours has been the workmanship of about twenty years: during which time, considering the choice of persons in the several creations; considering the many arts used in making proselytes among the young nobility who have since grown up; and the wise methods to prevent their being tainted by university principles: lastly, considering the age of those who fill up a certain bench, and with what views their successions have been supplied; I am surprised to find your majority so bare and weak, that it is not possible for you to keep it much longer, unless old men be immortal: neither perhaps would there be any necessity to wait so long, if certain methods were put in practice, which your friends have often tried with success. Your lordship plainly sees by the event, that neither threats nor promises are made use of, where it is pretty well agreed that they would not be ineffectual. Voting against the court, and indeed against the kingdom, in the most important cases, has not been followed by the loss of places or pensions, unless in very few particulars, where the circumstances have been so extremely aggravating, that to have been passive would have argued the lowest weakness or fear. To instance only in the duke of Marlborough; who, against the wholesome advice of those who consulted his true interest much better than his flatterers, would needs put all upon that desperate issue, of destroying the present ministry, or falling himself.

I believe, my lord, you are now fully convinced, that the queen is altogether averse from the

thoughts of ever employing your party in her councils or her court. You see a prodigious majority in the house of commons of the same sentiments; and the only quarrel against the treasurer is an opinion of more mildness toward your friends than it is thought they deserve; neither can you hope for better success in the next election, while her majesty continues her present servants, although the bulk of the people were better disposed to you than it is manifest they are. With all the advantages I lately mentioned, which a house of lords has over the commons, it is agreed that the pulse of the nation is much better felt by the latter than the former, because those represent the whole people; but your lordships (whatever some may pretend) do represent only your own persons. Now it has been the old complaint of your party, that the body of country gentlemen always leaned too much (since the revolution) to the tory side: and as your numbers were much lessened about two years ago, by a very unpopular* quarrel, wherein the church thought itself deeply concerned; so you daily diminish, by your zeal against peace, which the landed men, half ruined by the war, do so extremely want and desire.

It is probable that some persons may, upon occasion, have endeavoured to bring you over to the present measures. If so, I desire to know whether such persons required of you to change any principles, relating to government either in church or state, in which you have been educated?

* The impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell. N.

or

or did you ever hear that such a thing was offered to any other of your party? I am sure, neither can be affirmed; and then it is plain, that principles are not concerned in the dispute. The two chief or indeed the only topicks of quarrel are, whether the queen shall choose her own servants; and, whether she shall keep her prerogative of making peace? And I believe there is no whig in England that will openly deny her power in either. As to the latter, which is the more avowed, her majesty has promised that the treaty shall be laid before her parliament; after which, if it be made without their approbation, and proves to be against the interest of the kingdom, the ministers must answer for it at their extremest peril. What is there in all this that can possibly affect your principles as a whig? or rather, my lord, are you not, by all sorts of principles lawful to own, obliged to acquiesce and submit to her majesty upon this article? But I suppose, my lord, you will not make a difficulty of confessing the true genuine cause of animosity to be, that those who are out of place would fain be in; and that the bulk of your party are the dupes of half a dozen, who are impatient at their loss of power. It is true, they would fain infuse into your lordship such strange opinions of the present ministry and their intentions, as none of themselves at all believe. Has your lordship observed the least step made toward giving any suspicion of a design to alter the succession, to introduce arbitrary power, or to hurt the toleration, unless you will reckon the last to have been damaged by the bill lately obtained against occasional conformity,

mity, which was your own act and deed*, by a strain of such profound policy, and the contrivance of so profound a politician, that I cannot unravel it to the bottom.

Pray, my lord, give yourself leave to consider whence this indefatigable zeal is derived, that makes the heads of your party send you a hundred messages, accost you in all places, and remove heaven and earth to procure your vote upon a pinch, whenever they think it lies in their way to distress the queen and ministry. Those who have already rendered themselves desperate have no other resource than in an utter change. But this is by no means your lordship's case. While others were at the head of affairs, you served the queen with no more share in them than what belonged to you as a peer: although perhaps you were inclined to their persons or proceedings, more than to those of the present set. Those who are now in power cannot justly blame you for doing so: neither can your friends out of place reproach you, if you go on to serve her majesty and make her easy in her government, unless they can prove that unlawful or unreasonable things are demanded of you. I cannot see how your conscience or honour are here concerned; or why people who have cast off all hope should desire you to embark with them against your prince, whom you have never directly offended. It is just as if a man who had committed a murder, and was flying his country, should desire all his friends and ac-

* This bill was brought in Dec. 15, 1711, under a disguised title, by Daniel Finch, earl of Nottingham. N.

quaintance

quaintance to bear him company in his flight and banishment. Neither do I see how this will any way answer your interest; for, though it should possibly happen that your friends would be again taken into power, your lordship cannot expect they will admit you to the head of affairs, or even in the secret. Every thing of consequence is already bespoke. I can tell you who is to be treasurer, who chamberlain, and who to be secretaries. These offices, and many others, have been some time fixed; and all your lordship can hope for, is only the lieutenancy of a county, or some other honorary employment, or an addition to your title; or, if you were poor, perhaps a pension. And is not the way to any of these as fully open at present? and will you declare you cannot serve your queen unless you choose her ministry? Is this forsaking your principles? But that phrase is dropped of late, and they call it forsaking your friends. To serve your queen and country, while any but they are at the helm, is to forsake your friends. This is a new party figure of speech, which I cannot comprehend. I grant, my lord, that this way of reasoning is very just, while it extends no farther than to the several members of their juntoes and cabals; and I could point out half a score persons, for each of whom I should have the utmost contempt if I saw them making any overtures to be received into trust. Wise men will never be persuaded that such violent turns can proceed from virtue or conviction: and I believe you and your friends do in your own thoughts most heartily despise that ignominious

nious example of apostasy *, whom you outwardly so much caress. But you, my lord, who have shared no farther in the favour and confidence of your leaders than barely to be listed of the party, cannot honourably refuse serving her majesty, and contributing what is in your power to make her government easy, though her weighty affairs be not trusted to the hands where you would be glad to see them. One advantage your lordship may count upon by acting with the present ministry is, that you shall not undergo a state inquisition into your principles; but may believe as you please, in those points of government wherein so many writers perplex the world with their explanation. Provided you heartily renounce the pretender, you may suppose what you please of his birth; and if you allow her majesty's undoubted right, you may call it hereditary or parliamentary, as you think fit. The ministers will second your utmost zeal for securing the indulgence to protestant dissenters. They abhor arbitrary power as much as you. In short, there is no opinion properly belonging to you as a whig, wherein you may not still continue, and yet deserve the favour and countenance of the court; provided you offer nothing in violation of the royal prerogative, nor take the advantage in critical junctures to bring difficulties upon the administration, with no other view but that of putting the queen under the necessity of changing it. But your own party, my lord, whenever they return into play, will not receive you upon such

* The earl of Nottingham is probably here meant. N.

easy

easy terms, although they will have much more need of your assistance: they will vary their political catechism as often as they please; and you must answer directly to every article, as it serves the present turn. This is a truth too visible for you to call in doubt. How unanimous are you to a man in every point, whether of moment or no! whereas, upon our side, many stragglers have appeared in all divisions, even among those who believed the consequence of their dissent would be the worst we could fear; for which the courage, integrity, and moderation, of those at the helm cannot be sufficiently admired; though I question whether, in good politicks, the last ought always to be imitated.

If your lordship will please to consider the behaviour of the tories during the long period of this reign while their adversaries were in power, you will find it very different from that of your party at present. We opposed the grant to the duke of Marlborough till he had done something to deserve so great a reward; and then it was granted, *nemine contradicente*. We opposed repealing the test; which would level the church established with every snivelling sect in the nation. We opposed the bill of general naturalization, by which we were in danger to be overrun by schismaticks and beggars. The scheme of breaking into the statutes of colleges, which obliged the fellows to take holy orders; the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell; the hopeful project of limiting clergymen what to preach; with several others of the same stamp, were strenuously opposed, as manifestly tending to the ruin of the

the church. But you cannot give a single instance, where the least violation hath been offered to her majesty's undoubted prerogative, in either house, by the lords or commons of our side. We should have been glad indeed to have seen affairs in other management: yet we never attempted to bring it about by stirring up the city, or inviting foreign ministers to direct the queen in the choice of her servants, much less by infusing jealousies into the next heir. Endeavours were not publickly used to blast the credit of the nation, and discourage foreigners from trusting their money in our funds: nor were writers suffered openly, and in weekly papers, to revile persons in the highest employments. In short, if you can prove where the course of affairs, under the late ministry, was any way clogged by the church party, I will freely own the latter to have so far acted against reason and duty. Your lordship finds I would argue from hence, that even the warmest heads on your side, and those who are deepest engaged, have no tolerable excuse for thwarting the queen upon all occasions; much less you, my lord, who are not involved in their guilt or misfortunes, nor ought to involve yourself in their resentments.

I have often wondered with what countenance those gentlemen, who have so long engrossed the greatest employments, have shared among them the bounties of the crown and the spoils of the nation, and are now thrown aside with universal odium, can accost others, who either never received the favours of the court, or who must depend upon it for their daily support; with what countenance,

countenance, I say, these gentlemen can accost such persons in their usual style: "My lord, you were always with us; you will not forsake your friends: you have been still right in your principles: let us join to a man, and the court will not be able to carry it!" and this frequently in points where whig and tory are no more concerned, than in the length or colour of your periwigs. Why all this industry to ply you with letters, messages, and visits, for carrying some peevish vote, which only serves to display inveterate pride, ill nature, and disobedience, without effect? Though you are flattered, it must possibly make the crown and ministry so uneasy as to bring on the necessity of a change; which however is at best a design but ill becoming a good subject, or a man of honour. I shall say nothing of those who are fallen from their heights of power and profit, who then think all claim of gratitude for past favours cancelled. But you, my lord, upon whom the crown has never cast any peculiar marks of favour or displeasure, ought better to consider the duty you owe your sovereign, not only as a subject in general, but as a member of the peerage, who have been always the strenuous asserters of just prerogative against popular encroachments, as well as of liberty against arbitrary power! So that it is something unnatural, as well as unjust, for one of your order to oppose the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned, upon a party pique, and in points where prerogative was never disputed.

But, after all, if there were any probable hopes of bringing things to another turn by these violent

lent methods of your friends, it might then perhaps be granted that you acted at least a politick part: but surely the most sanguine among them could hardly have the confidence to insinuate to your lordship the probability of such an event during her majesty's life. Will any man of common understanding, when he has recovered his liberty after being kept long in the strictest bondage, return of his own accord to gaol, where he is sure of being confined for ever? This her majesty and millions of her subjects firmly believe to be exactly the case: and whether it be so or no, it is enough that it is so believed: and this belief it attended with as great an aversion for those keepers as a good christian can be allowed to entertain, as well as with a dread of ever being again in their power; so that, whenever the ministry may be changed, it will certainly not be to the advantage of your party, except under the next successor, which I hope is too remote a view for your lordship to proceed by; though I know some of your chiefs who build all their expectations upon it.

For indeed, my lord, your party is much deceived, when they think to distress a ministry for any long time, or to any great purpose, while those ministers act under a queen who is so firmly convinced of their zeal and ability for her service, and who is at the same time so thoroughly possessed of her people's hearts. Such a weight will infallibly at length bear down the balance; and, according to the nature of our constitution, it ought to be so; because, when any one of the three powers whereof our government is composed

proves

proves too strong for the other two, there is an end of our monarchy. So little are you to regard the crude politicks of those who cried out, "The constitution was in danger," when her majesty lately increased the peerage; without which it was impossible the two houses could have proceeded, with any concert, upon the most weighty affairs of the kingdom.

I know not any quarrels your lordship, as a member of the whig party, can have against the court, except those which I have already mentioned; I mean, the removal of the late ministry, the dismission of the duke of Marlborough, and the present negotiations of peace. I shall not say any thing farther upon these heads; only as to the second which concerns the duke of Marlborough, give me leave to observe, that there is no kingdom or state in christendom where a person in such circumstances would have been so gently treated. But it is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure are frequently much more publick than the cause: the punishments are in the face of the world, when the crimes are in the dark; and posterity, without knowing the truth of things, may perhaps number us among the ungrateful populace of Greece and Rome, for discarding a general, under whose conduct our troops have been so many years victorious; whereas it is most certain, that this great lord's resolution against peace upon any terms whatsoever did reach the ministry at home as much as the enemy abroad: nay, his rage against the former was so much the more violent of the two, that, as it is affirmed by skilful computers, he spent more

more money here upon secret service in a few months, than he did for many years in Flanders. But whether that be true or false, your lordship knows very well, that he resolved to give no quarter, whatever he might be content to take when he should find himself at mercy. And the question was brought to this issue, whether the queen should dissolve the present parliament, procure a new one of the whig stamp, turn out those who had ventured so far to rescue her from insolence and ill usage, and invite her old controllers to resume their tyranny with a recruited spirit of vengeance? or, whether she should save all this trouble, danger, and vexation, by only changing one general for another?

Whatever good opinion I may have of the present ministry, I do not pretend, by any thing I have said, to make your lordship believe that they are persons of sublime abstracted Roman virtue: but, where two parties divide a nation, it usually happens, that although the virtues and vices may be pretty equal on both sides, yet the publick good of the country may suit better with the private interest of one side than of the other. Perhaps there may be nothing in it but chance; and it might so have happened, if things were to begin again, that the junto and their adherents would have found it their advantage to be obedient subjects, faithful servants, and good churchmen. However, since these parts happen to be acted by another set of men, I am not very speculative to inquire into the motives; but, having no ambition at heart to mislead me, I naturally side with those who proceed most by the maxims wherein

wherein I was educated. There was something like this in the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey: Cato and Brutus were the two most virtuous men in Rome; the former did not much approve the intentions of the heads on either side; and the latter, by inclination, was more a friend to Cæsar: but, because the senate and people generally followed Pompey, and as Cæsar's party was only made up of the troops with which he conquered Gaul, with the addition of some profligate deserters from Rome, those two excellent men, who thought it base to stand neuter where the liberties of their country was at stake, joined heartily on that side which undertook to preserve the laws and constitution, against the usurpations of a victorious general, whose ambition was bent to overthrow them.

I cannot dismiss your lordship without a remark or two upon the bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into the grants since 1688, which was lately thrown out of your house, for no other reason than the hopes of putting the ministry to a plunge. It was universally known, that the lord treasurer had prevailed to wave the tack in the house of commons, and promised his endeavours to make the bill pass by itself in the house of lords. I could name at least five or six of your noble friends, who, if left to the guidance of their own opinion, would heartily concur to an entire resumption of those grants; others assure me they could name a dozen: yet, upon the hope of weakening the court, perplexing the ministry, and shaking the lord treasurer's credit in the house of commons, you went on so unanimously,

mously, that I do not hear there was one single negative in your whole list, nor above one whig-lord guilty of a suspicious absence, who, being much in your lordship's circumstances, of a great patrimonial estate, and under no obligation to either side, did not think himself bound to forward a point, driven on merely to make the crown uneasy at this juncture, while it no way affected his principles as a whig, and which I am told was directly against his private judgment. How he has since been treated as an apostate and betrayer of his friends, by some of the leaders and their deputies among you, I hope your lordship is ashamed to reflect on: nor do I take such open and sudden declarations to be very wise, unless you already despair of his return, which, I think, after such usage, you justly may. For the rest, I doubt your lordship's friends have missed every end they proposed to themselves in rejecting that bill. My lord treasurer's credit is not any way lessened in the house of commons. In your own house, you have been very far from making a division among the queen's friends; as appeared manifestly a few days ago, when you lost your vote by so great a majority, and disappointed those who had been encouraged to hire places, upon certain expectations of seeing a parade to the Tower*. Lastly, it may probably happen,

* "We got a great victory last Wednesday [May 28], in the house of lords, by a majority, I think, of twenty-eight; and the whigs had desired their friends to take places, to see lord treasurer carried to the Tower." Journal to Stella, May 31, 1712.—The motion was, "To address her majesty, that she would be pleased

happen, that those who opposed an inquisition into the grants will be found to have hardly done any very great service to the present possessors. To charge those grants with six years purchase to the publick, and then to confirm the title by parliament, would, in effect, be no real loss to the owners, because, by such a confirmation, they would rise in value proportionably, and differ as much as the best title can from the worst. The adverse party knew very well, that nothing beyond this was intended; but they cannot be sure what may be the event of a second inspection, which the resentment of the house of commons will probably render more severe, and which you will never be able to avert when your number lessens, as it certainly must; and when the expedient is put in practice, without a tack, of making those grants part of a supply. From whence it is plain, that the zeal against that bill arose, in a great measure, from some other cause, than a tenderness to those who were to suffer by it.

I shall conclude, my lord, with putting you in mind, that you are a subject of the queen, a peer of the realm, and a servant of your country; and, in any of these capacities, you are not to consider what you dislike in the persons of those who are in the administration, but the manner of con-

pleased to send orders to her general [the duke of Ormond] to act, in concert with her allies, offensively against France, in order to obtain a safe and honourable peace."—This passing in the negative, a protest was entered, and signed by twenty-seven lords; but the reasons for it were ordered to be expunged from the Journals on the 13th of June following. N.

ducting

ducting themselves while they are in: and then I do not despair but your own good sense will fully convince you, that the prerogative of your prince, without which her government cannot subsist; the honour of your house, which has been always the great asserter of that prerogative; and the welfare of your country, are too precious to be made a sacrifice to the malice, the interest, and the ambition, of a few party leaders.

A SUPPOSED LETTER FROM THE PRETENDER TO ANOTHER WHIG LORD.*

St. Germains, July 8, 1712.

MY LORD WHARTON,

I THANK you heartily for your letter; and you may be firmly assured of my friendship. In answer to what you hint that some of our friends suspect; I protest to you, upon the word of a king, and my lord Middleton† will be my witness that I never held the least correspondence with any one person of tory party. I observe, as near as I can, the instructions of the king my father; among whose papers there is not one letter, as I remember, from any tory, except two lords and a lady, who, as you know, have been for some years past devoted to me and the whigs. I approve of the scheme you sent me, signed by our friends. I do not find 24's name to it: perhaps he may be sick, or in the country. Middleton will be satisfied to be groom of the stole:

* Published with an intent to throw the odium of a design to bring in the pretender, on the whigs. N.

† Charles Middleton, the second earl of that title, and baron Clairmont, was secretary of state for Scotland from the year 1684 to the Revolution; when he followed king James into France, and was attainted by the Scots parliament in 1695. N.

and if you have Ireland, 11 may have the staff, provided 15 resigns his pretensions; in which case, he shall have six thousand pounds a year for life, and a dukedom. I am content 13 should be secretary and a lord; and I will pay his debts when I am able.

I confess, I am sorry your general pardon has so many exceptions; but you and my other friends are judges of that. It was with great difficulty I prevailed on the queen to let me sign the commission for life, though her majesty is entirely reconciled. If 2 will accept the privy seal, which you tell me is what would please him, the salary should be doubled: I am obliged to his good intentions, how ill soever they may have succeeded. All other parts of your plan I entirely agree with; only as to the party that opposes us, your proposal about Z may bring an odium upon my government; he stands the first excepted; and we shall have enough against him in a legal way. I wish you would allow me twelve more domesticks of my own religion; and I will give you what security you please, not to hinder any designs you have, of altering the present established worship. Since I have so few employments left me to dispose of, and that most of our friends are to hold theirs for life; I hope you will all be satisfied with so great a share of power. I bid you heartily farewell; and am your assured friend.

A PRETENDED

LETTER OF THANKS

FROM

LORD WHARTON

TO THE

LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH,

IN THE NAME OF

THE KITCAT CLUB.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS ON THE BISHOP'S PREFACE.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1712.

" Do you know that Grub-street is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it close the last fortnight, and published at least seven papers * of my own, beside some of other people's; but now every single half sheet pays a halfpenny to the queen. The Observator is fallen; the Medleys are jumbled together with the Flying post; the Examiner is deadly sick; the Spectator keeps up, and doubles its price: I know not how long it will hold. Have you seen the red stamp the papers are marked with? methinks the stamping is worth a halfpenny."

Journal to Stella, Aug. 7, 1712.

* One of these was probably the pamphlet here reprinted. N.

A LETTER

TO

THE BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH*.

MY LORD,

IT was with no little satisfaction I undertook the pleasing task, assigned me by the gentlemen of the Kitcat club†, of addressing your lordship with thanks for your late service so seasonably done to our sinking cause, in reprinting those most excellent discourses, which you had for-

* Dr. William Fleetwood. N.

† This club, which consisted of the most distinguished wits and statesmen among the whigs, was remarkable for the strictest zeal toward the house of Hanover. They met at a little house in Shire lane, and took their title from the real name of a pastrycook who excelled in making mutton pies, which were regularly a part of their entertainment. The portraits of this society, drawn by sir Godfrey Kneller, were all at Barnes, in the possession of the late Mr. Jacob Tonson, whose father was their secretary; and are now in the possession of William Baker, esq. late M.P. for the county of Hertford, at his house in Hill street. Sir Godfrey's own portrait is among them, of a smaller size than the others. From these portraits, "Kitcat" became a technical term in painting.—Dr. King, who was undoubtedly a first rate writer *de re culinariâ*, has pointed out the merits of their proveditor, in his admirable Art of Cookery.

"Immortal made as Kitcat by his pies!" N.

merly

merly preached with so great applause, though they were never heard of by us till they were recommended to our perusal by the Spectator, who some time since, in one of his papers *, entertained the town with a paragraph out of the Postboy, and your lordship's extraordinary preface.

The world will perhaps be surprised, that gentlemen of our complexion, who have so long been piously employed in overturning the foundations of religion and government, should now stoop to the puny amusement of reading and commending sermons. But your lordship can work miracles, as well as write on them; and I dare assure your lordship and the world, that there is not an atheist in the whole kingdom (and we are no inconsiderable party) but will readily subscribe to the principles so zealously advanced and so learnedly maintained in those discourses.

I cannot but observe with infinite delight, that the reasons your lordship gives for reprinting those immortal pieces are urged with that strength and force which is peculiar to your lordship's writings, and is such as all who have any regard for truth, or relish for good writing, must admire, though none can sufficiently commend.

In a word, the preface is equal to the sermons: less than that ought not, and more cannot, be said of it. In this you play the part of a prophet, with the same address as that of a preacher in those; and, in a strain no ways inferior to Jeremiah, or

* The Spectator, No. 384, May 21, 1712.—The preface was severely reprehended by the Examiner, No. 27, May 29; and more humourously in the remarks annexed to this letter. N.

any

any of those old pretenders to inspiration, sagely foretel those impending miseries which seem to threaten these nations, by the introduction of popery and arbitrary power. This a man of less penetration than your lordship, without a spirit of divination, or going to the devil for the discovery, may justly "fear and presage, from the natural tendency of several principals and practices which have of late been so studiously revived." I know your lordship means those long since exploded doctrines of obedience, and submission to princes, which were only calculated to make "a free and happy people slaves and miserable." Who but asses, and packhorses, and beasts of burden, can entertain such servile notions? What! shall the lives and liberties of a freeborn nation be sacrificed to the pride and ambition, the humour and caprice of any one single person? Kings and princes are the creatures of the people, mere state pageants, more for show than use; and shall we fall down and worship those idols, those golden calves of our own setting up? No, never, as long as I can hold a sword, or your lordship a pen.

It was suitable to that admirable foresight, which is so conspicuous in every part of your lordship's conduct, to take this effectual method of delivering yourself "from the reproaches and curses of posterity, by publicly declaring to all the world, that though, in the constant course of your ministry, you have never failed, on proper occasions, to recommend the loving, honouring, and reverencing the prince's person," so as never to break his royal shins, nor tread upon his heels;

yet

yet you never intended men should pay any submission or obedience to him any longer than he acted according to the will and pleasure of his people. This, you say, is the opinion of Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul: and, faith, I am glad to hear it; for I never thought that they had been whigs before. But, since your lordship has thus taught them to declare for rebellion, you may easily persuade them to do as much for prophaneness and immorality; and then they, together with your lordship, shall be enrolled members of our club. Your lordship, a little after, (I suppose, to strengthen the testimony of the aforementioned authors) takes care to tell us, that "this always was, and still is, your own judgment in these matters." You need not fear we should suspect your constancy and perseverance; for my lord Somers, that great genius, who is the life and soul, the head and heart of our party, has long since observed, that we have never been disappointed in any of our whig bishops; but they have always unalterably acted up, or, to speak properly, down to their principles.

It is impossible for me, my lord, in this short address, to do justice to every part of your incomparable preface: nor need I run riot in encomium and panegyrick, since you can perform that part so much better for yourself; for you only give those praises, which you only can deserve; as you have formerly proved in the dedication of your "Essay upon Miracles,"* to Dr. Godolphin, †

* Which was first published in 1701. N.

† Vice provost of Eaton, and residentary of St. Paul's. N.

where

where you declare your work to be the most perfect of any upon that subject, in order to pay a very uncommon compliment to your patron, by telling him you had prevailed with your modesty to say so much of your performance, because you would not be thought to make so ill a compliment to him, as to present him with what you had not a great esteem for yourself.

Though I cannot go through the whole preface, yet I think myself obliged in gratitude to thank your lordship in a more particular manner for the last part of it, where you display the glories of the whig ministry in such strong and lasting colours, as must needs cheer and refresh the sight of all whig spectators, and dazzle the eyes of the tories. Here your lordship rises, if possible, above yourself. Never was such strength of thought, such beauty of expression, so happily joined together. Heavens! such force, such energy, in each pregnant word! such fire, such fervour, in each glowing line! One would think your lordship was animated with the same spirit with which our hero fought. Who can read, unmoved, these following strokes of oratory? "Such was the fame, such was the reputation, such was the faithfulness and zeal, to such a height of military glory, such was the harmony and consent, such was the blessing of God," &c. O! the irresistible charm of the word such! Well, since Erasmus wrote a treatise in praise of Folly *, and my lord Rochester an excellent poem upon

* The "*Moriæ Encomium*" Erasmus wrote, within the compass of a week, at the house of his friend More, with whom he lodged

on

upon Nothing, I am resolved to employ the Spectator, or some of his fraternity (dealers in words), to write an encomium upon Such. But, whatever changes our language may undergo (and every thing that is English is given to change), this happy word is sure to live in your immortal preface. Your lordship does not end yet; but, to crown all, has another such in reserve, where you tell the world, "We were just entering on the ways that lead to such a peace as would have answered all our prayers," &c. Now, perhaps, some snarling tory might impertinently inquire, when we might have expected such a peace? I answer, when the Dutch could get nothing by the war, nor we whigs lose any thing by a peace; or, to speak in plain terms (for every one knows I am a free speaker as well as a freethinker) when we had exhausted all the nation's treasure (which every body knows could not have been long first), and so far enriched ourselves, and beggared our fellow subjects, as to bring them under a necessity of submitting to what conditions we should think fit to impose; and this too we should have effected, if we had continued in power. But, alas! just in that critical juncture, when (as we thought) our designs were ripe for execution, the scene changed: "God, for our sins," as your lordship wisely observes, "permitted the spirit of discord" (that is, the doctrine of obedience and submission to princes) "to go forth, and, by troubling the camp, the city, and the country (and O that it

on his arrival in England. A copy of it was sent to France, and printed there with abundance of faults; yet it took so well, that in a few months it went through seven editions. N.

had

had spared the places sacred to his worship!) to spoil, for a time, this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead, I know not what . . . . . ." O exquisite! how pathetically does your lordship complain of the downfall of whiggism, and Daniel Burgess's meeting house*! The generous compassion your lordship has shown upon this tragical occasion makes me believe your lordship will not be unaffected with an accident that had like to have befallen a poor whore of my acquaintance about that time, who, being big with whig, was so alarmed at the rising of the mob, that she had like to have miscarried upon it; for the logical jade presently concluded (and the inference was natural enough) that, if they began with pulling down meeting-houses, it might end in demolishing those houses of pleasure where she constantly paid her devotion; and, indeed, there seems a close connexion between extempore prayer and extempore love. I doubt not, if this disaster had reached your lordship before, you would have found some room in that moving parenthesis, to have expressed your concern for it.

I come now to that last stroke of your lordship's almighty pen; I mean that expressive

* The mob that attended Dr. Sacheverell to his trial attacked Mr. Burgess's meeting-house, Feb. 28, 1709-10; and, having pulled down the pulpit, pews, &c. made a bonfire of them in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and would have thrown the preacher in, if they had found him. A proclamation was issued, March 2, offering a reward of a hundred pounds, for apprehending any of the rioters. It appears that the only two who were discovered (whose names were Damaree and Purchase) were unhappy ignorant whigs, who did not even know which party their conduct was assisting. They both received the queen's pardon. N.

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dash..... which you give when you come to the new ministry, where you break off with an artful aposiopesis, and, by refusing to say any thing of them yourself, leave your readers to think the worst they possibly can. Here your lordship shows yourself a most consummate orator, when even your very silence is thus eloquent.

Before I take my leave, I cannot but congratulate your lordship upon that distinguishing mark of honour which the house of commons has done your preface, by ordering it to be burnt*. This will add a never failing lustre to your character, when future ages shall read, how a few pages of your lordship's could alarm the representative body of the nation. I know your lordship had rather live in a blaze, than lie buried in obscurity; and would at any rate purchase immortality, though it be in flames. Fire being a mounting element, is a proper emblem of your lordship's aspiring genius.

I shall detain your lordship no longer; but, according to your example, conclude with a short prayer (though praying, I confess, is not

* This was performed May 12, 1712. See an admirable letter on that occasion to bishop Burnet, June 17, 1712, in the preface to bishop Fleetwood's works.—The vote was carried in the house by a majority of 119, against 54; among the dissenting voices, were sir Peter King, sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lechmere, and others of the long robe. "The complaint" (says the bishop) "was made by Hungerford, and seconded by Manley (people that indeed should have been ordered to have burnt it), and thirded by what we call the Court; and carried by numbers, without a wise word said against it." N.

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my talent)—May you never want opportunities of thus signalizing yourself; but be "transmitted to posterity," under the character of one who dares sacrifice every thing that is most dear to you (even your own darling labours) to promote the interest of our party; and stand sainted in the whig calendar, as a martyr for the cause! This is the sincere wish of the greatest (next yourself) of your lordship's admirers,

WHARTON.

REMARKS

REMARKS

ON

BISHOP FLEETWOOD'S PREFACE*.

"Ecce iterum Crispinus!"

THE Bishop of St. Asaph's famous Preface having been so much buffeted of late between advocates and opposers, I had a curiosity to inspect some of his other works. I sent to the booksellers in Duck Lane, and Little Britain, who returned me several of the sermons which belonged to that preface; among others, I took notice of that upon the death of the duke of Gloucester, which had a little preface of its own, and was omitted, upon mature deliberation, when those sermons were gathered up into a volume; though, considering the bulk, it could hardly be spared. It was a great masterpiece of art in this admirable author, to write such a sermon, as, by help of a preface, would pass for a tory discourse in one reign, and by omitting that preface, would denominate him a whig in another: thus, by changing the position, the picture represents either the pope or the devil, the cardinal or the fool. I confess, it was malicious in me, and what few others would have done, to rescue those sermons out of their dust and oblivion; without which, if the author had

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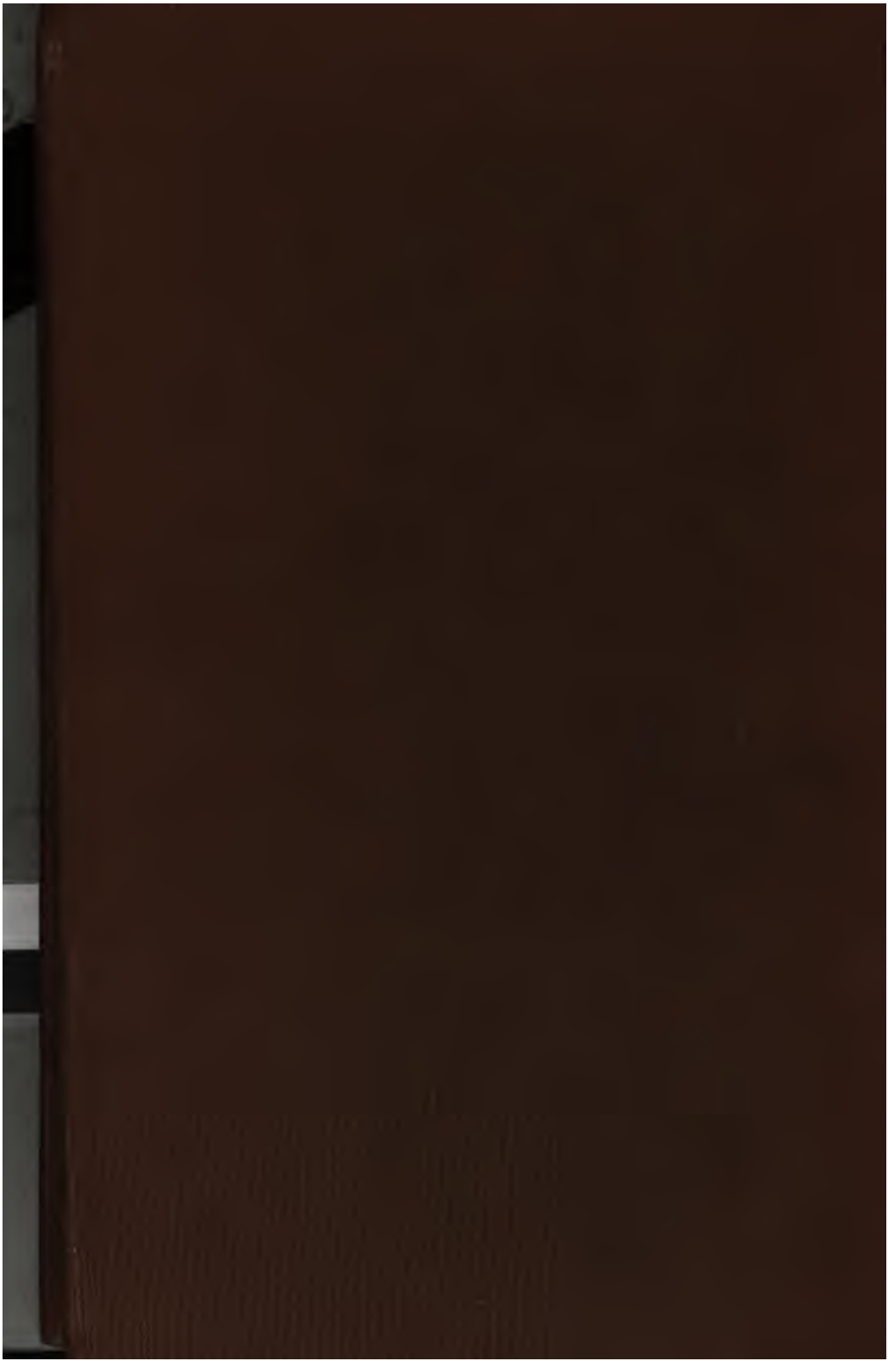
so pleased, they might have passed for new preached, as well as new printed: neither would the former preface have risen up in judgment to confound the latter. But, upon second thoughts, I cannot tell why this wilfully-forgotten preface may not do the reverend author some service. It is to be presumed that the Spectator published the last with that intent: why therefore should not my publishing the first be for the same end? and I dare be confident, that the part I have chosen will do his lordship much more service; for here it will be found, that this prelate did, once in his life, think and write as became him; and that while he was a private clergyman, he could print a preface without fear of the hangman. I have chosen to set it at length, to prevent what might be objected against me, as an unfair representer, should I reserve any part of this admirable discourse, as well as to imitate the judicious Spectator; though I fear I shall not have so good contributions from our party, as that author is said to have from another, upon the like occasion; or, if I chance to give offence, be promised to have my losses made up to me, for my zeal in circulating prefaces. Without any such deep and politick designs, I give it to the world out of mere good nature, that they may find what conceptions the worthy author has formerly had of things, when his business was yet undone; so to silence a clamorous party, who, from the late preface, are too apt, how unjustly soever, to conclude, his lordship's principles are not agreeable to his preferments.

In this excellent preface, the worthy author though

thought fit to charge the fanaticks and whigs, upon the duke of Gloucester's death, as people that would "try to make it a judgment of God upon us for our sins, by turning the kingdom into a commonwealth." The satire must certainly be determined to them; for neither the tories nor nonjurors were ever charged with such principles, but rather as carrying the regal authority too high, in asserting the divine right of kings. This species of government, which the learned prelate says, is "as ill fitted for our nature as popery is for our religion," was, by some people, it seems, endeavoured to be brought in, whom he terms "an impudent and clamorous faction." Whether that impudent and clamorous faction would really do all those things he charges them with, is by the whigs denied, and charitable men may in part make a question: but that by this he did, and could then only mean the whigs, could be no question at all, since none else were ever charged with those crimes in these kingdoms; and they have always been so, though seldom indeed so heavily, unless by high-flying tories or jacobites. It seems, his lordship had dreadful apprehensions of what they would "certainly do," and begs of God "evermore to preserve us from this species." And surely he was in the right; for that would be, indeed, "giving us we know not what"—his lordship's enemies "will tell the rest with pleasure!"

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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